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A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

PUBLISHED BY THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE, AT 70 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

Conducted by

W. E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS

AUGUSTUS GRANVILLE DILL, Business Manager

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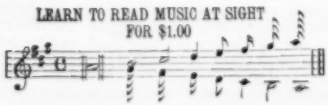

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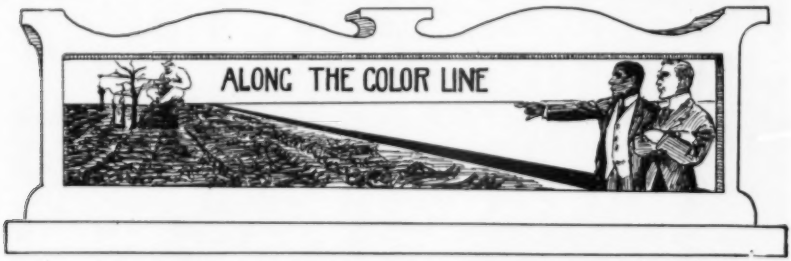


EDUCATION.

IN public school No. 3, Brooklyn, N. Y., Miss Rosa Taylor, a colored girl, completed the course in six and one-half years (a thing which has not been done since the founding of the school 250 years ago), and took the bronze medal in the spelling bee.

In the same school Miss Marion Allen, a daughter of Mrs. William Trotman, took the silver medal for proficiency in German at the midyear promotion. There were 108 pupils in the class and eighteen of them were of German descent. The silver medal was the highest honor and was given by the German-American National Bund. The German gentleman who presented the medal nearly lost his breath when he saw the little colored girl of 14 years who took it. These two were the only prizes offered and they were taken by the only two colored pupils in the class. The audience of 5,000 roared in applause.

¶ The Wake (N. C.) county board of public instruction has appropriated $6,000 for a training school for colored teachers to be located at Method, N. C.

¶ A complete system of student government has been established at Walden University in Nashville, Tenn.

¶ The Negro Teachers' Association and School Improvement League of Virginia collects each year statistics of money raised for school improvement in various counties. In 1912 the colored people themselves raised more than $15,000 and in 1913 the amount raised was almost $25,000.

¶ The students of Rust University in New Orleans raised $1,050 as a jubilee offering for the Freedmen's Aid Society.

¶ A twenty-one-room public-school building worth $50,000 is being erected in Savannah, Ga., for colored children.

¶ Leonard Medical School in Raleigh, N. C., will soon have a new modern laboratory to take the place of the one which burned recently.

¶ Hampton University teachers and students celebrated Founder's Day on February 1. Dr. Stephen S. Wise, the rabbi of the Free Synagogue in New York City, made the address in commemoration of Gen. Samuel Chapman Armstrong.

MUSIC AND ART.

THE splendid art of Mr. Harry T. Burleigh is again revealed in the arrangement of sixteen of the Afro-American folksongs which Mr. Henry E. Krehbiel, the well-known music critic of New York, uses as illustrations in his new work on national music, "Afro-American Folksongs." Mr. Krehbiel declares that the Negro folksongs are beautiful and, as shown by Dvorak, they can furnish the inspiration to the composer who knows how to employ them. He adds that it was the singing of the jubilee singers of Fisk University which introduced him to the subject and caused him to begin his observations forty years ago.

¶ A number of the folksongs have been arranged for men's voices and performed

MRS. MAUD CUNEY HARE, PIANIST, AUTHOR AND EDITOR OF THE CRISIS MUSIC NOTES.

by the Mendelssohn Glee Club of New York under the direction of the distinguished choral conductor, Arthur Mees.

¶ *Musical America* states that "Roland Hayes, tenor, and Anne Cambridge, soprano, both pupils of the Hubbard Studio of Boston, sang with splendid success in a recent performance of 'Gallia' and 'The Seven Last Words of Christ,' at Northfield, Mass. Mr. Hayes was again heard in a recital in Boston on January 29—his farewell appearance before a winter concert tour."

¶ Miss Jessie E. Muse, the young lyric soprano of New Haven, Conn., who graduated with honors from the Yale Conservatory of Music, made her first concert appearance in Boston, Mass., at Steinert Hall, on January 30. Miss Muse showed high musical sensibility in the use of her voice, which is well trained and of a beautiful quality. She was assisted by Mr. W. H. Richardson, baritone, and Mr. Frederick White, pianist and accompanist. Miss Muse, a talented young student of piano, accompanied her sister. For over twenty years Mr. White has held the position of organist at Trinity M. E. Church, one of the large white churches of Charleston, Mass.

¶ The Washington Concert Orchestra (Mr. Harry A. Williams, conductor) gave its initial concert in January at Howard Theatre, Washington, D. C. The program was one of unusual excellence.

¶ Mr. R. Augustus Lawson, distinguished pianist and teacher, of Hartford, Conn., gave a piano recital under the direction of the music department of Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn., on January 2.

¶ Mr. Joseph Douglass, violinist of Washington, D. C., was heard in a recital at Fisk Memorial Chapel on January 30. Mr. Donglass is on a concert tour, which includes a number of principal cities of the South.

¶ The colored pupils of the high school of Temple, Tex., have by their own efforts recently purchased a set of band instruments for the use of the school brass band.

¶ On January 10, at Springfield, Mass., St. John's Congregational Church gave their first concert for the benefit of the pipe-organ fund, at which time they presented Mrs. Maud Cuney Hare, pianist, and Mr. W. H. Richardson, baritone, of Boston, Mass. Of the recital the Springfield *Republican* said: "The church was so packed that it was necessary to throw open the room at the side of the main auditorium. * * * The singing of Mr. Richardson and the piano selections by Mrs. Hare were both of the highest quality and drew forth the repeated applause of one of the most discriminating audiences that has ever assembled in the church."

¶ On December 17 a symphony concert was given by the Victorian Concert Band, conducted by Clarence Cameron White. Mr. Charles H. Sullivan, the organizer and manager, formed this orchestra in 1906, with only six members, and now the orchestra numbers thirty. The *Metronome* says: "The program presented at the above occasion was a very ambitious one and the manner in which it was rendered would have been a credit to any orchestral organization." A second concert will be given in April.

¶ The musical director of the public schools of Providence, R. I., has appointed a colored girl, Ruth Harrison, to play the piano at the regular music period in the English high school. The eight other contestants were white girls.

PERSONAL.

VAN J. DAVIS, a colored physician, has been appointed assistant city physician in Paducah, Ky.

¶ William J. Williams, a colored man, has been elected chairman of the board of aldermen of Chelsea, Mass.

¶ So far as is known, John D. Jones, assistant ticket agent at Readville, Mass., is the only colored man holding such a position. He began in the company's employ as a porter.

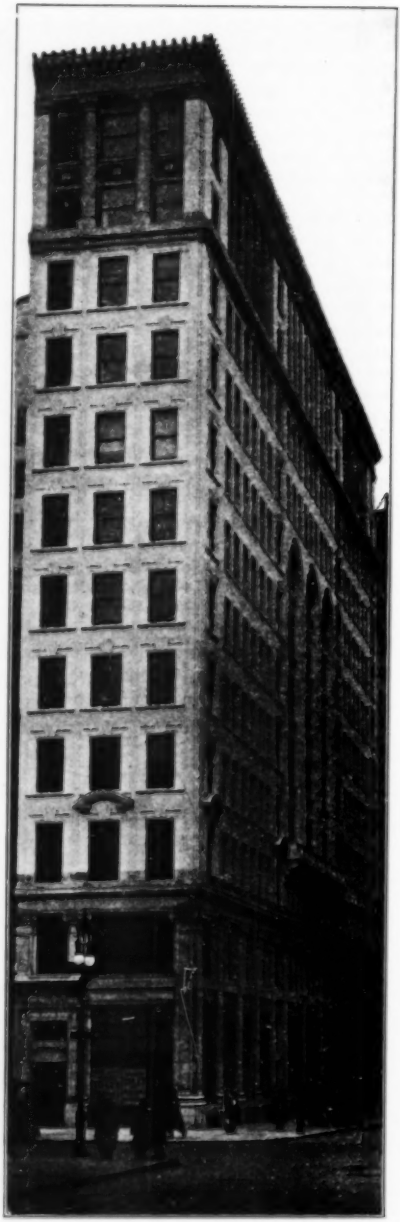
¶ Col. John R. Marshall, of the Eighth Infantry of the Illinois National Guard, has resigned. Major Franklin A. Dennison succeeds him.

¶ R. H. Becky and R. L. Carroll, of Washington, D. C., who were formerly patrolmen, have been appointed detectives.

¶ A young colored woman, Miss Agnes Halsell, has been appointed organist of a white church in Salem, Ore.

¶ John Bryce, a private in the Tenth Negro Cavalry, was seriously wounded in Texas by Mexicans.

¶ The offices of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and of THE CRISIS are now at 70 Fifth Avenue; this is a cut of the building. We are on the fifth floor, suites 518 and 521.



70 FIFTH AVENUE.

SOCIAL UPLIFT.

THE Framington (Mass.) Historical and Natural History Society will erect a tablet to mark the speakers' stand on the former site of old Harmony Grove, where so many abolitionists pleaded for the freedom of the slaves.

¶ Miss Luna M. Scott, a colored business woman of Milwaukee, Wis., is the first woman in the State to be commissioned by the governor as a notary public.

¶ Mrs. Susie Brighter, a white woman of Atlantic City, N. J., bequeathed $200,000 to Levi A. Taylor, a colored farmer of Newark, Del., who was for some time in her employ. It is said that Mr. Taylor will establish a home for colored boys near Wilmington.

¶ The Frederick Douglass Home for Aged Colored Men in Providence, R. I., was opened on January 20. The home accommodates about ten inmates.

¶ The Knights of Pythias will erect a more modern bathhouse and sanatorium in Hot Springs, Ark., on the site of the old one which was destroyed by the recent fire.

¶ Colored publications will be on exhibition at the international exhibition for the book industry and the graphic arts to take place this year in Leipzig, Germany.

¶ Veassus Pope, a young colored man, made the highest average of any applicant in the State of Minnesota in a recent examination in Minneapolis for the railway mail service.

¶ Pullman porters who are 70 years old and have been in the service as long as twenty years will be pensioned. The minimum pension will be $15 per month.

¶ The *Negro Farmer*, a journal for the use of colored farmers, published at Tuskegee, Ala., has sent out the first issue.

¶ Negro physicians, pharmacists and dentists of Omaha, Neb., have organized a medical society. When a colored physician in Omaha has a colored patient who must be treated in a hospital he must turn the patient over to a white doctor because he is excluded from practice in the hospitals.

The medical association will attempt to remedy this and other injustices.

¶ Recently the State of Virginia appropriated to the Virginia School for Colored Deaf and Blind $28,000 and $4,600 yearly for improvements.

¶ Ernest Chambers, a graduate of the West Virginia Colored Institute, won the prize of $100 for the best acre of corn grown in 1913 in the State corn-growing contest of Missouri.

¶ A new Y. M. C. A. building for colored people in Philadelphia has recently been finished.

¶ Preston Taylor, a colored minister of Nashville, Tenn., has pledged $5,000 to build a hospital in Liberia.

¶ The Provident Hospital of St. Louis, Mo., is carrying on a campaign to raise $30,000 in order to build a more commodious and modern structure. It was to this hospital, and not to the Chicago hospital, that the late Adolphus Busch gave $5,000.

¶ A charter has been granted by the State corporation commission for an Industrial Home School for Wayward Colored Girls to be located at Hampton, Va.

¶ J. R. Coffy, a colored man of Wewoka, Okla., made the highest average of any applicant from Oklahoma in the departmental clerk examination of the civil service. There were more than a hundred applicants from Oklahoma.

¶ Of 133 colored dining-car men on the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad examined for health and cleanliness only one failed to pass the examination.

MEETINGS.

THE national convention of the Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity met in its sixth annual session at Howard University, Beta Chapter, Washington, D. C., December 29-31. The fraternity will soon have an official organ, *The Sphinx*, edited by Raymond W. Cannon, with Julius McKelvie as business manager.

¶ The State Association of Colored Teachers of Virginia met in Alexandria on February 26-27.

¶ Odd Fellows from various parts of the country met in Philadelphia recently in the semi-annual session of the subcommittee of management of the Grand United Order of Odd Fellows.

¶ The National Association of Colored Editors met in Nashville, Tenn., February 13 and 14.

¶ The annual meeting of the directors of the Jeanes Negro Rural School Fund met in New York City in January. Reports showed that $34,262 had been paid in teachers' salaries by the fund.

¶ The sixth annual meeting of the Negro Race Conference was held in Columbia, S. C., February 18-20.

¶ The Sunday-school congress of the national Baptist convention will meet in Beaumont, Tex., in June.

¶ Colored Masons of Michigan held their annual convention in Kalamazoo on January 27.

¶ The forty-ninth annual session of the Louisiana African Methodist Conference met in Lake Charles on January 28.

¶ The Alabama State Association of Colored Teachers will meet in Birmingham, Ala., next month.

ECONOMICS.

THE colored Masons of Florida have a new $100,000 temple.

¶ The Mechanics' Savings Bank and Trust Company will soon be opened in Nashville. This will be Nashville's third colored bank.

¶ The Institute Building and Land Company, a corporation of ten colored men, has recently been organized at Charleston, W. Va., with a capital of $20,000. This corporation will do real-estate business in Charleston and in Institute, W. Va.

¶ Anderson R. Abbot, a colored physician of Toronto, Canada, died, leaving an estate worth $61,000.

¶ Fred. J. Douglass, a colored man of Topeka, Kan., has been granted a patent for a slide valve to be used on steam engines.

¶ The North Carolina Mutual and Provident Association began in 1899 with a business of $840, and in 1913 did $300,000 worth of business.

¶ Several colored men, under the name of the Melbourne Company, will open a new colored hotel in Boston.

¶ The Alabama Penny Savings Bank in Birmingham, Ala., declared a dividend of 8 per cent. at the annual meeting of stockholders.

¶ The State corporation commission of Virginia has granted a charter to an organization of colored men in Portsmouth permitting them to do a banking business with a capital stock of not less than $10,000.

¶ Negroes have opened a mattress factory in Knoxville, Tenn. The factory supplies many leading white and colored furniture dealers in Knoxville and through the South.

¶ Major Taylor, a bicycle rider of Worcester, Mass., has invented an automobile tire which is said to be cheaper and more satisfactory than the tires now in use. A leading firm of Worcester furnished money for the road test, and the tires proved so satisfactory that a company has been organized for the purpose of manufacturing and selling them.

¶ The citizens of Miami, Fla., are carrying on a campaign for deep water in the harbor, and the colored citizens, unsolicited, have pledged themselves to raise $10,000.

¶ A company of colored citizens in Raleigh, N C., have been granted a charter and expect to open a bank very soon.

¶ Mr. J. S. Groves, a colored farmer in Kansas, is considered the "potato king" of that State. In 1912 he raised 55,000 bushels of potatoes on 320 acres.

THE COURTS.

THE "Jim Crow" law of Oklahoma has been upheld by the United States Circuit Court of Appeals. The Federal District Court previously upheld the law and stated that the railroad company would not be compelled to furnish Pullman cars for Negroes if there was not a sufficient demand.

¶ Charles Lanier of Newark, N. J., is suing the Newark Theatrical Company for $500 damages because he and his wife were refused admission to the main auditorium of the Odeon Theatre in Newark.

¶ William Young, a Negro, charged with assault upon a 14-year-old white child, has been acquitted in the Superior Court of Georgia.

¶ Miss Wilma Shackleton is suing a restaurant owner in Brooklyn, N. Y., for drawing the color line.

¶ It is reported that Judge Risinger has been upheld by the Court of Appeals in the First Judicial District of Dayton, O., in his decision that the colored Elks of that State cannot use the symbols, insignia and badges used by white Elks.

¶ The United States Supreme Court decided on January 30, 1913, that the action of the Supreme Lodge, Knights of Pythias, in revoking the charter of the Grand Lodge, Knights of Pythias of Virginia, in August, 1913, was unconstitutional and unlawful.

¶ Benjamin Jones and Fannie Guatier brought suit against the Berlin Realty Company of Los Angeles, Cal., because the company refused to sell them property on account of color. Judge J. W. Shenk declared that race-restriction clauses in property deeds were illegal and handed down a decision against the realty company.

THE GHETTO.

THE mayor of East Orange, N. J., vetoed the appointment of F. J. Sullivan as policeman because Sullivan's average in the civil service was not the highest, as the board of police commissioners claimed. George Williams, a colored man, was said to have the highest average. Later, however, the police commissioners unanimously overrode the mayor's veto, claiming that George Williams did not have the highest but the lowest average.

¶ Two white ministers of Cassville, Mo., endeavored to stop the young people of their congregations from attending a New Year's dance by appealing to their race prejudice. They distributed circulars protesting against the importation of a colored orchestra to play for the dance. The dance was largely attended.

¶ The St. Louis Choral Symphony Orchestra gave a free festival at the Coliseum in St. Louis, and advertised that there would be absolutely no distinction made between poor and rich. The colored people, however, were compelled to enter the hall through a rear entrance.

¶ C. W. Hill, the principal of a public school in Mobile, Ala., has been informed by the board of school commissioners of Mobile County that he must give up his position if he continues to edit the "Negro Social" section of the Mobile *Post*. The chairman of the board gave as the reason

for this decision the fact that Mr. Hill was advertising his position in his newspaper work and was conducting a Negro social page in a paper published by white men for white people.

¶ Discrimination in the Central Railroad restaurant at Communipaw Avenue station in Jersey City, N. J., has been discontinued chiefly through the efforts of the committee of one hundred of colored men in Jersey City.

¶ It is reported that segregation of railroad clerks in Virginia and North Carolina has taken a new form. The colored clerks are being transferred to night trains and the white clerks to day trains.

¶ Thomas Dixon's play, "The Leopard's Spots," was recently prohibited from playing in Florence, Ala. A number of colored citizens protested to the mayor, who promised that the play should not be given and warned Dixon that every actor would be arrested if they attempted to play. In spite of this warning Dixon sent out circulars announcing that the play would be put on. The mayor ordered the theatre closed on the evening that the company was booked to appear and there was no performance of "The Leopard's Spots."

¶ The National Biscuit Company no longer employs Negroes.

¶ Seven native laborers were killed and thirty-six wounded in a fight between natives and white people in the diamond mines of Jagerfontein, South Africa. The trouble arose over a dispute concerning the death of Basuto, a native, which was claimed to be the result of a kick from a white man.

¶ Hyattsville, Md., has passed a segregation ordinance.

¶ The colored people of Louisville, Ky., have obtained a half victory from the manager of the National Theatre in that city. Instead of a back entrance and seats in the gallery only, they will hereafter use the street entrance and have accommodation in the first balcony.

¶ Recently Judge N. H. Stewart, of the Circuit Court of Kalamazoo, Mich., refused to appoint attorney E. J. Marshall, a colored man, counsel for a white woman to free her son. He said that unless the woman could find a white lawyer he would not hear the case.

¶ Sheldon Vanderburgh, in spite of the neighbors' belief that he would not "desecrate the neighborhood," sold his home in Hastings-on-the-Hudson, N. Y., to a colored real-estate dealer in order to spite his neighbors. The dealer claims to have bought it for one of his clients who will use it for a roadhouse.

¶ The colored people of York, Pa., have succeeded in having two electric signs, "Colored Bar" and "Colored Ladies' Dining Room," removed from the Liverick Hotel.

¶ Mrs. Lee Terrell, a colored woman of Beaumont, Tex., was riding alone in a "Jim Crow" car en route to Pauhuska, when the trainman put about thirty drunken white men in the car. Mrs. Terrell complained to the conductor of their insults and was ushered by him into the baggage car, where she was compelled to remain until the end of her trip or else suffer the insults of the party of drunken men.

¶ The lower house of the South Carolina general assembly has passed the Fortner bill, and it is now before the senate. The bill prohibits white teachers from teaching in colored schools, white nurses from having colored patients and prohibits "intimacy of the races in houses of ill-repute."

¶ The members of the Carpenters' Union of Mobile, Ala., objected strenuously to the employment of a colored foreman on the new Citronelle school building to be erected. A delegation protested to the school board and received promises that the board would investigate. It is reported, however, that the colored man became frightened and left town.

¶ At a mass meeting in the Harlem branch of the Y. M. C. A., called by a committee of thirty, the Harlem Property Owners' Improvement Association was formed for the purpose of preventing Negroes from coming into Harlem to live. The organizers will incorporate the association as soon as $100,000 of stock is pledged, but just what methods will be taken has not yet been stated.

¶ At the Temple of Creation in New York City a series of pictures, "The Photo Drama of Creation," is being given. At the entrance of the church is this sign: "Seats Free! No Collection! Free to Both Rich and Poor!" And yet the colored people

who have attended the church claim that in each case they were directed to a side door which led to the top gallery.

¶ A special class of colored students was formed in public school No. 1 in Paterson, N. J., covering four grades, and in charge of Miss Fannie Lowe, the only colored teacher in the school. It seems that this class was formed so that Miss Lowe, who stood highest in the examinations, might have an opening and still not teach white pupils, for now that Miss Lowe has resigned the class is disbanded.

¶ Representative Frank Clarke, of Florida, asked the governor of his State to call a special meeting of the Florida legislature to enact a law that would prohibit Japanese and "people of like races" from owning land within the State.

¶ Race segregation laws seeking to separate the whites and blacks in definite parts of Norfolk, Va., stand adjudged unconstitutional on a technicality. The city lost its appeal in the State Circuit Court seeking to overturn a lower court's verdict of unconstitutionality.

¶ W. B. Sutton, a colored plumber of Norfolk, Va., has received a license from the board of control. Although Mr. Sutton has worked at his trade efficiently for fifteen years, since last June he has been prevented from working by the white plumbers' union. The matter was taken up by the board of control and resulted in the license.

¶ "A prominent Negro was arrested because he objected to the familiarity of white men with colored women on the street car."—Muskogee (Okla.) *Cimeter*.

CRIME.

LYNCHINGS of Negroes, which have occurred since the last account, are as follows:

¶ At Oklahoma City, Okla., Benjamin Dickerson charged with murdering a white man. Near Wendell, N. C., James Wilson charged with the murder of a white woman; even while he protested his innocence his face was slashed and he was tortured in other ways by a mob composed of men and women. At Mulberry, Fla., Lewis Pack and Waldo James, for attacking a white man who could not identify the Negroes, as it was dark when he was attacked. At Jefferson, Tex., David Lee, for wounding a white constable who has completely recovered.

¶ There was a small race riot in Delmar, Del., recently, which it is claimed was the result of a colored man insulting a white woman. Reports of the riot say that "before the riot ceased several colored men had been severely thrashed and the streets cleaned of colored persons, regardless of sex."

¶ A colored man, supposedly Dugger Harris, who was accused of killing Peder T. Johnson, a white sheriff of Jacksonville, Fla., was shot six times and killed by Marshal H. I. Yancy at Helena, Ga. A mob of white ruffians burned the body. It seems now that the identification of the man who was killed was by no means complete and there is doubt that the victim was Harris after all.

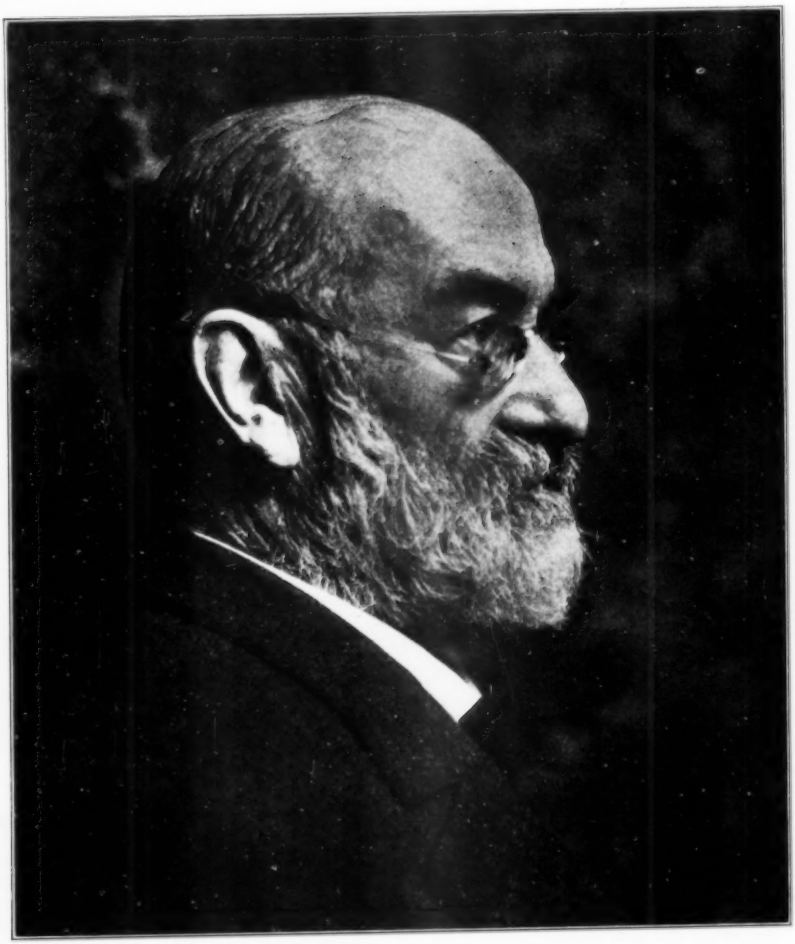
¶ Mrs. Jessie Ferguson, a colored woman of Chicago, was recently criminally assaulted by a white policeman, whose name had not been made public at the last report. The officer has been released on bail awaiting trial.

¶ Two colored men were walking along the railroad tracks, between Delaware and Nowata, Okla. The town marshal, Mayfield, called to them to halt, but the men became frightened and ran. The marshal then shot, killing one man and wounding the other. He excused himself by saying that he thought the men were bootleggers.

¶ George Smith, a colored man, was on trial in Macon, Ga., for petty larceny. His employer, R. C. Hazlehurst, was called as a character witness. He spoke as follows: "Yes, I think he is guilty, they are all guilty. As far as character is concerned, he has no character. None of them have." In consideration of Hazlehurst's feelings in the matter, the judge added an extra month and an extra fine of $5 to the sentence usually imposed in petty larceny cases.

¶ J. C. Phillips, a colored college student from Dallas, Tex., was attacked by twenty or thirty white toughs at the Gilmar station, where he was waiting with a young woman for a train. The ruffians knocked his hat off, threw the books that he carried to the ground, and swore at him as "an educated nigger who thought himself smart." Shortly before this a colored minister and several women were badly treated at Big Sandy, Tex.

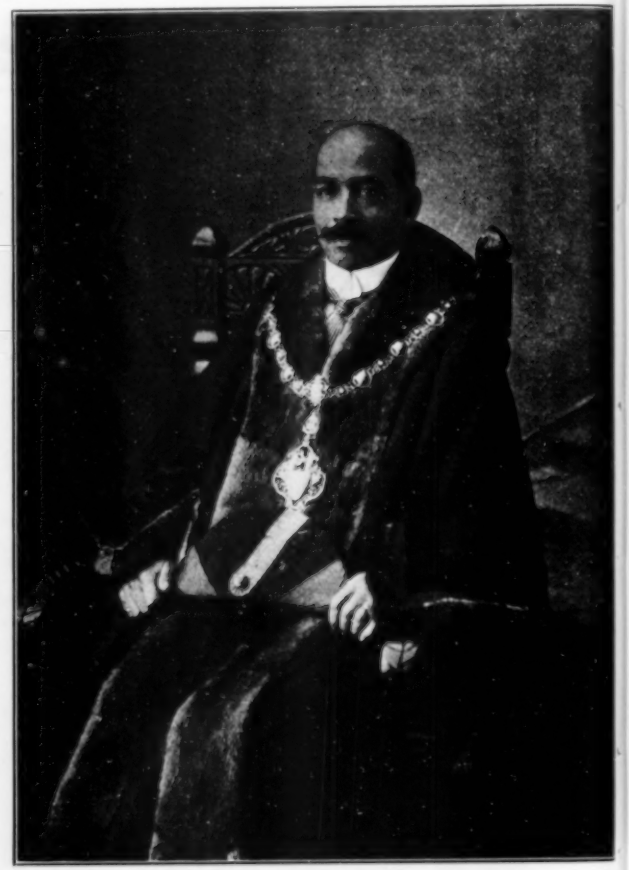
MEN OF THE MONTH



WILLIAM HAYES WARD.

AN UNSWERVING FRIEND.

THE retirement of William Hayes Ward from the active direction of the *Independent* marks an epoch which colored people must not forget. Dr. Ward and Lyman Abbot are both Massachusetts men and born in the same year, 1835. Both were Congregational clergymen and both became in the course of time editors of widely influential weekly periodicals. Here the parallelism stops. William Hayes Ward remained first and last a single-hearted straightforward friend of human beings, whether white, yellow or black. He stood for democracy without "ifs," and he stood for that "social equality" which eagerly recognizes ability and character irrespective of merely physical differences. Lyman Abbot began and continued to be a man who developed a singular gift in sensing the popular side of any great social question and discovering deep and esoteric reasons for supporting that side. In reconstruction times, therefore, both Abbot and Ward were strong friends of the Negro. After the Southern revolution Dr. Abbot, as editor of the *Outlook*, gradually transferred allegiance, and became the most subtle and dangerous enemy of the Negro in America. He joined in the slander of mulattoes, misrepresented and helped disfranchisement, and used every art of his remarkable gift in casuistry to put the religion of Jesus Christ into the service of color caste. Dr. Abbot did this with so straight a face and such an assumption of high motives and impeccable respectability that thousands of well-meaning Americans followed his lead.



JOHN R. ARCHER, MAYOR OF BATTERSEA.

Neither the jeers and threats of the South nor the coldness of the North moved Dr. Ward. In the face of criticism, and probably at much financial loss, the *Independent* continued to stand absolutely square on the Negro problem. At times its voice was drowned by clamor, at times it rang out absolutely alone, but still it stood and still its venerable white-haired editor cried grimly with the word of ages: *"Gott helfe mich, ich kann nicht anders!"* This is a record that deserves the gratitude of every American, and Negroes especially should honor Dr. Ward and subscribe for the *Independent*.

It is gratifying to THE CRISIS to number Dr. Ward with its readers. He writes us: "I think your magazine is one of the most useful I read, for the most crying evil of our day is the injustice to those of more or less Negro blood."

MRS. JOHN R. ARCHER.

THE MAYOR OF BATTERSEA.

FURTHER information concerning John Richard Archer, the newly elected mayor of Battersea, London, brings out some interesting facts.

His father was a Negro of Barbadoes, West Indies, and his mother an Irish woman. He was born in Liverpool. He started to study medicine, but gave it up on account of a nervous breakdown. Then he began to read for the bar, but was drawn aside by political interests, and became an ardent supporter of John Burns.

He gains his livelihood as a photographer and in this line has taken many prizes, and has held the position of honorary librarian of one of the oldest photographic societies in London.

In the borough council of Battersea he has been a member of the works, valuation, finance, health and baths committee. Of the baths committee he was chairman, and had under his supervision the largest public bath in England. He has been a member of the board of guardians, which controls the poor funds for the largest union in London and second largest in England, with a population of nearly 480,000.

He is also a school manager and chairman of a group of school managers which control three of the largest schools in the district. He is one of the trustees of a number of charities, a governor of Sir Walter St. John's school, and a member of the first committee formed after the granting of old-age pensions by parliament.

By reason of the nationality of his mother he belongs to the United Irish League.

Finally, in a statement which he sends to THE CRISIS, he declares that he "fears no man and brooks no insults because of the race to which he is proud to belong."

We are privileged to quote passages from a personal letter sent to a friend in the United States:

"Last week I attended a great function at the Guildhall when the twenty-eight Lon-

don mayors were present with the lord mayor. It filled my heart with joy to walk in the procession of mayors in that old historic building—the first time that one of our race has done so as mayor.

"You have asked me for a sketch of my life. I am not good at that sort of thing—I have always refused up to now, but as it seems to be of such special interest to the race, I withdraw my objection. But for Heaven's sake don't describe me to be what the Chicago *Defender* states I am—'tall, handsome and brown skinned.' The marvelous way you men have of making people what they are not appals me. You will, of course, see from the photograph sent you that I am the reverse of being tall. The other I admit, of course, with all modesty.

"I am interested in newspaper cuttings in America even more than in England. I have not taken the trouble to collect them, but I would like to know what may be said of my appointment in America, even though it may be adverse. For I have learned of one man here, an African, who did not think that I ought to hold, as a man of color, my present position. 'Tell it not in Gath!' I would like to meet him because as a member of the board of guardians I have a great deal to do with imbeciles."

Universal Brotherhood

CLASP hands across the sea, brothers,
Clasp hands across the sea.
We're brown and white and black, brothers;
What matters which it be?
We all are sons of God, brothers,
Joint workers for the good,
With hearts united, beating
In human brotherhood.

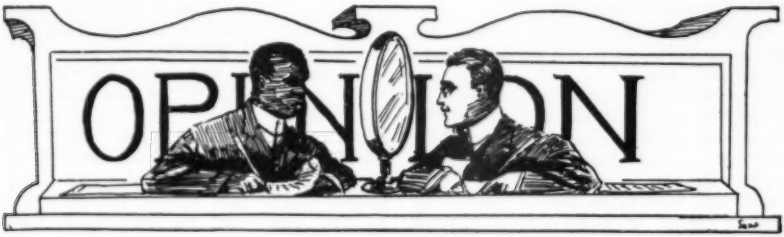
MARGARET VON SEYDEWITZ.
Jena, Germany.

On Segregation

By ARTHUR TUNNELL

(Inspired by the Washington protest meeting)

STRONG spirits must awaken! for the time,
Unhealthy with a bitter sick unrest
That ne'er relaxes in our fevered breast,
Bids that we, Godlike, rise above the crime
That sullies the still beauty of our time,
That makes a noble state seem still unblest,
Because her weaker brothers find no rest,
But wearied, labor in a cause sublime.
Come forth! ye deep-voiced star-souled men,
And o'er the sounding land raise high your song,
Sing o'er and o'er the truth you love again,
To tame the terror of this fearful wrong,
Teach deep inwrought the power of love through all,
That without which earth's glories all must fall.



THE NEW ABOLITION.

The trip of the chairman of the executive committee to the West has brought notable editorial utterances. The Chicago *Evening Post,* in a leading editorial, says:

"Lincoln Center was far too small to hold the people who wished to attend the annual convention of the Chicago branch, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, held last Sunday evening. The activities of this society and the tone of its chief spokesman upon the occasion of this annual meeting are alike significant, and the phrase, 'the new abolitionism,' which Professor J. E. Spingarn made the keynote of his speech, is no exaggeration, but fits the movement exactly.

"For it is fiery abolitionism, as against the calm meliorism of Booker T. Washington, that this society preaches, and it is important that these two sides of the movement to alter the colored man's status should be clearly discerned.

"With the propaganda of Mr. Washington we are all more or less acquainted. He emphasizes duties above rights, the actual over the abstract, and urges his followers to acquire money and commercial power, to farm in preference to teaching, to become such substantial citizens that prejudice will no longer hurt them even if it persists. Mr. Washington is the utilitarian of the Negro movement.

"Dr. Du Bois, on the other hand, is the fiery idealist of the Negro movement, and Professor Spingarn unites to that the corresponding white idealism which is the guaranty that Dr. Du Bois' spirit is not beating itself in vain against a stone wall, but is enkindling a flame at which both white and colored men may light the torches for their common forward march.

"The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People does not believe that any white man is a free citizen in a free republic as long as black men are not equally free. It specializes, therefore, in the work of redressing grievances due to race discrimination and in education of both white and colored people in the idealistic attitude. It urges the Negro to do what he is perhaps not naturally inclined to do, to go after his rights himself. It urges its white members not to patronize the colored man, not to aid him out of sentimental pity for an underdog, but to aid him because he is fighting the battle of American freedom and American idealism. • • • With Mr. Washington's program, as far as it goes, we have no quarrel but a deep admiration. But it must be supplemented by the old abolitionist flame of right for right's sake which Dr. Du Bois and Professor Spingarn are reviving. We do not want to see a stronger and richer Negro race living in permanent alienation from us. We do not want to see the mistakes of our old competitive system, our old money standards of success, duplicated by the Negroes, as there is already a danger of it being duplicated under the stimulus of Mr. Washington's success slogan. If the colored man responds so readily to that rather Anglo-Saxon ideal, how much more readily will he respond to a slogan of idealism.

"That idealism it is the function of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to kindle. Mr. Washington is doing a needed work in making a strong and prosperous people from which the association may recruit strength. But the two sides of the general movement must thus supplement each other, for together they represent that balance of utilitarianism and idealism which is the characteristic gait of American progress."

The Chicago *Tribune* says:

"Our mistreatment of the Indians has been admitted to be a blot on the nation's 'scutcheon. Are we to drift into an evil even greater? As Dr. Du Bois says, a quarter century ago the solution of the Negro problem was formulated thus: 'Take the Negro out of politics. Train him for work, especially for farm work.' The Negro has been taken out of politics by various devices of disfranchisement which in effect annul the Thirteenth Amendment. This process of constitutional repeal has been accepted complaisantly by a generation preoccupied with its own material achievements and political and social problems. The results of this twofold policy according to Dr. Du Bois and other observers are 'that the Negro schools have been neglected; that a large proportion of the Negro children are not in school, and that there has been quiet but determined opposition to the success of the higher schools for Negroes, while in the industrial and agricultural field the Negro has had to contend against tremendous odds.'

"It should be said in supplement to this that in the South white schools also have been neglected; that the South has been very poor and economically retarded, and that in many districts the poor whites are worse off than the Negroes, though because of their own deficiencies.

"Yet after all factors are brought within view, the human paradox appears that wherever the Negro, in spite of the staggering handicaps under which he moves, has forced himself upward he thereby places himself in competition with white men and immediately becomes the object of their opposition. What is really wanted of him is humble, useful labor. Freedom in name he is to enjoy, but not the freedom a free soul demands, the freedom to move forward, to enjoy 'the blessings of liberty,' freedom in the 'pursuit of happiness.'

"We shall not solve the Negro problem on any such basis. The wisdom of Abraham Lincoln, who said 'This government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free' is wisdom to-day. Our policy toward the Negro most certainly and most profoundly will react upon ourselves. That is a consideration which gives to the movement for the advancement of colored people the force of enlightened self-interest."

MR. WILSON.

The Boston *Advertiser* continues to hammer hard on the President:

"If there is one place where there should be no color line, it is the department of social work. In any city which has a large number of colored people one of the most valuable elements in the situation is the co-operation of the organizations which colored people have formed for the uplift of their own race. In Washington, particularly, the social problem of the city is partly a problem of poor white folks, but just as much a problem of poor colored folks. All this would be hardly worth saying were it not for the fact that the White House has become a center for the welfare work of Washington, and there seems to be a very strict rule in these White House conferences that they are for white alone. There are a good many colored welfare societies in Washington which would like to take part in the plans that are being made to improve the city, but they have not been bidden to the conferences. It is evident that the policy of the administration is very much what might be expected of Southerners, even when a woman of the President's family is trying to improve city conditions."

A correspondent to the *Advertiser* asks "Where are the Congressmen?" and suggests:

"It is all well enough to hold these meetings of protest at Washington, but what are the Congressmen from New England doing? Are they upholding and abetting this nasty discrimination? Who among them is protesting? Not many or we should have heard something of it by this time up here in Boston. Are they a set of cowards, afraid of offending the administration officials who have favors to give out? Do they not dare to say that their souls are their own? I think we all have reason to feel ashamed of them, and I think that they will find that their cowardice has not been forgotten when the next nominations are given out for Congress in Massachusetts. We ought to have men, not dummies, in Washington."

Another correspondent in the Boston *Herald* suggests: "If we cannot be con-

sistent on the Negro problem let us at least avoid hypocrisy. Charity begins at home," and continues:

"Boston, of course, maintains a pretty close social and industrial segregation of the colored people. When they move into a neighborhood all of the whites, who can, move out. No strictly social club in Boston that I know of admits colored men to membership. Restaurants discourage by rude and humiliating service all colored folk who would be patrons, and many, perhaps most, bars discriminate against the colored man. Segregation on the colored people has been applied even by the social workers. Colored men find it hard to enter skilled employments in Boston. Many hotels refuse to employ them as waiters. Nowhere have I heard the colored people more bitterly denounced than here."

The President's dilemma is facetiously set down by the New York *Sun:*

"Only the most callous could withhold sympathy from the Hon. Woodrow Wilson in this fearful hour.

"On the one side the Hon. Oswald Garrison Villard of this town frowns sternly upon him because the Negroes in the government departments are undergoing the humiliating process of segregation from their Caucasian fellow workers.

"On the other hand, the Hon. Cole Blease of South Carolina hurls violent invective upon him because 'niggers boss white women in the government service,' a barbarism no follower of bleasocracy can tolerate.

"Alas! for Mr. Wilson. What banner shall he follow? The black and tan of Villard or the pure white of Blease?"

"Norfolk" writes from Washington to the Boston *Record:*

"If you believe that segregation has been abolished in all the government departments you are very much misled. It is not so public or so open; but there are some departments still in which the colored clerks and messengers are made to understand that they must keep by themselves or else that they will soon be out of their jobs. Whatever the heads of the different bureaus may tell their superiors, we here in Washington know by the personal experience of ourselves and our friends that the color line is being drawn every day and that any protest against it would mean the loss of bread and butter."

THE RIGHT TO VOTE.

Says the Boston *Advertiser* in good, plain English:

"We have already declared our belief that, if the Republican party wants an issue on which to reunite the party, one which will appeal to the red blood and the patriotism of every decent American, whether Republican, or Progressive, or Democrat, it is ready to hand, in the unconstitutional and outrageous suppression of the votes of American freemen, in the Southern States, merely on account of the color of their skins.

"A skeptical correspondent, whose letter will be found in another column of this page to-day, says that it would be impossible to induce Congress to pass any such law; that too many Congressmen now owe their places in Congress, in House or Senate, to this fraudulent and outrageous denial of the rights of colored men to the franchise. The 'South is in the saddle,' says our estimable critic, and the South is going to do far worse things to the Negro than the mere denial of the right to vote. The persecution of the Negro in the different executive departments at Washington, it seems, is only the beginning of a country-wide policy, south of Mason's and Dixon's line, to 'teach the nigger his place.'

"Moreover, says our illustrious critic, even if Congress should so far violate every tradition and rule of the Democratic party, and should pass a measure which would so appreciably destroy the influence of the Democratic party in national politics, President Wilson, as a self-respecting friend of the South, would surely veto it. Our critic seems to think that the very fact that President Wilson, who has been free enough in his criticism of all the other glaring evils of American politics, has been absolutely silent on this, the greatest and most pernicious of the political ills. Mr. Wilson has threatened to hang as high as Haman any man who tries to injure the American wage earner; but he has been discreetly silent about the greater evil of the abuse of 10,000,000 of self-respecting colored wage earners."

It continues the argument in another editorial:

"In all honesty, we believe that most Republicans are rather ashamed of the makeshift offered by the Republican national committee, at Washington, to the

members of the party, the country over, regarding representation in future national conventions.

"The bargain proposed is so one sided, so unfair, so ridiculous, that the suggested reduction in the representation of the Southern States in future conventions falls far short of the admitted facts. At the election of 1912, for example, 3,834 votes were cast in Louisiana for the Republican national ticket; 1,597 were cast in Mississippi and 536 were cast in South Carolina. In this State 155,000 votes were cast for Mr. Taft. If the committee's plan prevails, Louisiana will be entitled in the next national convention to one delegate for every 319 voters, Mississippi to one for every 133 voters and South Carolina to one for every 48 voters, while Massachusetts will have to be satisfied, even if it retains its present 36 votes, to one delegate for every 4,500 voters. Alabama will have one delegate for every 650 voters, while New York will have but one delegate for every 5,000 voters. Georgia will have a delegate for each group of 350 voters, while Ohio may have one delegate for every 5,800 voters.

"Of course any such basis of representation, so completely discriminatory and one sided, is almost as bad as the old system of the 'rotten boroughs' of the solid South. The national committee has not helped matters much by what it offers. It admits that the present system of representation is unfair, and merely suggests—not that the discrimination and unfairness be abolished—but that it be slightly less unfair than it has previously been. The plan seems ridiculous. It fails to meet the vital point of the whole issue, that the time has come when the national committee and the national convention shall fairly and proportionately represent the voters of the Republican party, not merely political machines without any voters behind them.

"If that is the best the national committee can do, for honest party representation, the Republicans of the different States should consider whether they may not arrange their own party conference, to deal honestly and justly with this whole issue of Republican representation and political representation in general. For the thing is a stench and a scandal in American politics. The whole country knows that a large proportion of the citizens of the United States are denied the right to vote. And the whole country knows that these men are taxed without representation, and that the Constitutional provisions respecting the suppression of votes in the United States is impudently and openly violated, in the matter of the representation, both in the House of Representatives and in the Electoral College."

The revelation of high political morality in South Carolina since the suppression of the Negro vote has been exposed by the contested election of **Richard S. Whaley.**

"Whatever way the charges are looked at," says the New York *Evening Post*, "they show an exceedingly ugly state of things. For they are brought by Mayor Grace of Charleston, and, if false, place the head of that city's government in the position of a villainous slanderer; while, if they are true, they make the representative from the Charleston district a gross debaucher of his constituency. Here is an extract from the speech of Mr. Frear, of Wisconsin, urging the investigation:

"'The testimony shows that $100,000 was spent in two primaries by the two candidates, that money flowed like water, that men were bought and sold like sheep, and that this debauched condition of affairs existed throughout the district. Names of men who were bought and names of buyers were furnished; also amounts paid to different men and amounts allotted to each ward or precinct. It was specifically charged that an expenditure of $60,000 was made by the Whaley faction with Mr. Whaley's knowledge and consent, and testimony was given to that effect.

"'Although notified of every hearing, Mr. Whaley refused to appear and face his accusers. But one day during their absence the committee was called together to hear Mr. Whaley make a brief statement and to permit him to file counter affidavits in his own defence. The committee never had power to do anything, and now reports back to the House it wants no power and does not believe an investigation desirable.'

"This is unpleasantly reminiscent of the Lorimer case, in more ways than one. But one is hardly prepared to see this sort of thing said about a South Carolina gentleman."

EDUCATION. "The meanest law ever enacted in any State in this country," is what the *Continent* calls "the new Florida statute, which forbids white teachers to instruct Negro pupils. It is mean because whatever excuses are made for it, the real purpose beneath is to interfere with white Christians who want to help colored children and young people up into better intelligence and better character. It is a law against the colored race becoming better in the next generation than it is in this. And nothing could be more diabolical than legal enactments intended to perpetrate social and racial depression."

The characteristic falsification of facts concerning the Southern situation is illustrated by a letter from O. T. Headley in the *Congregationalist*. He says that there are as many Negroes lynched in the North, according to population, as there are in the South. This is not so. Of the 79 lynched in 1913 three, or less than 4 per cent., were lynched outside the former slave States, and two of these were lynched in contiguous territory, namely, Southern Ohio and Indiana. The North contains 11 per cent. of all the Negroes in the country. The proportion of Negroes lynched in the North has risen as high as 5 or 6 per cent. in the past, but it has never come anywhere near this extraordinary statement.

Again, it is said that Negro school children in Alabama are granted as much money per capita as the whites, by the State, and that the State builds high-school buildings for both races. This is absolutely false. In Alabama the colored children form 45 per cent. of the population and receive, according to the report of the United States Commissioner of Education, 12 per cent. of the educational funds. The writer may be quibbling as to State and local funds, but even in the distribution of State funds the discrimination is quite as great.

The writer says that the State furnishes high-school training to all Negroes who apply. There are only four colored high schools in the State with 319 pupils, while in the private high schools there are nearly 5,000 pupils not provided for by the State. But why argue?

The Greenville (S. C.) *News* says:

"There are many intelligent and well-meaning persons who object to the education of the Negro, holding that such education will breed future trouble. Then, of course, there is the politician who uses this question for his own gain by appealing to passion and prejudice. The politician is not afraid of the future; he doesn't care a rap for the future; indeed this indifference to the welfare of those who come after him is his most distinguishing characteristic. So let him pass, and turn to the first class mentioned: the well-meaning persons who sincerely have doubts as to the expediency of Negro education. To them we have this to say. There are many problems which only time can settle; and time will settle them, if we do our duty. And can any one doubt that the duty of a stronger race is to raise a weaker one? And can any one doubt that education, which is, or ought to be, preparation for life, is the best way to raise them?"

The San Antonio (Tex.) *Express* comments on a recent meeting of Negro teachers as follows:

"The presence of more than 1,000 teachers and the discussion of practical questions relating to school work, at the recent State convention of colored teachers in Brenham, was a pleasing indication of the work that is being done for the elevation of the colored race."

In two schools of the South difficulties between the colored students and the white Northern teachers have occurred. The *Christian Recorder* says:

"It seems from the public press that the students of Shaw University have rebelled against the president of the school, Rev. C. R. Meserve, and the students of Clark University protested against President Foster.

"We do not know the details of either case, and we shall not attempt any discussion of the same.

"But the unrest in these schools, and in several others, is such as to call for serious consideration, as it is becoming too general a thing these days to have colored students rebel. And it is almost a new thing. It is very probably certain that the strained relations have grown up largely because of the fact that the students are colored and the teachers are white. No one regrets more than we do the growing breach between the races. It is one of the most lamentable phases of our life. The times have very greatly changed, and many of the white

teachers who have given their lives to the colored race are finding that the colored people do not seem to appreciate it as much now as they once did.

"Yet, but little of the trouble is with the remnant of that older class of teachers, whose devotion to the Negro must ever remain one of the most inspiring chapters of our national history. In those early days not only the brains but the best of heart and soul, which the North had, went to teach the Negro. Those were the days of the Armstrongs, the Wares, the Cravaths and their kind, who bound their students by ties of love, which were stronger than hoops of steel. A younger group of Thirkields, Frissels, Bumsteads, Charlotte Thornes, et al., followed them, but they are fast passing."

The Charlotte *Observer* has this tribute to the Negro nurse:

"Of peculiar interest to Southern readers should be the story which comes from Chicago of a Southern white boy taken suddenly and desperately ill with pneumonia who was hurried by the doctors to a Negro hospital as the one most convenient. His mother telegraphed urging his removal to some other hospital. It was too late for that. For thirty-six hours continuously the nurse assigned him fought for his life and won. The mother, while doubtless not affected in just the way some Northern people might expect her to be, pays heartfelt tribute to the qualities exemplified by this Negro trained nurse. She had probably known before, as Southern people generally know, that the Negro woman household nurse is the best and most faithful in the world. She could not have expected less of a Negro nurse professionally trained for the care of the sick. Very, very few of us who had Negro nurses in our childhood can ever forget the debt of kindness we owe the Negro race."

THE NEGRO AND THE CHURCH.

The deeply religious are feeling keenly the shame of the attitude of the church toward the Negro. Miss Ida Vose Woodbury said at a home mission conference:

"The supreme test of the melting pot in this country to-day is not the immigrant, but the native-born American Negro. • • • Democracy to-day is on trial for its life, and if it fails the test, then the influence of this country on other countries will be nil. It is not worth while for the white people of this country to send missionaries to China while the man around the corner is a Chinaman; no use to send to Africa while the women who do your laundry are Negroes. The time has long since passed when we can send men to foreign countries to evangelize without backing up what they say of the Christian's God right here in our own country. The work there will never be perfect unless we have in this country the spirit of universal brotherhood.

"In every crisis in this country's history the black man has fought for its salvation, and where the black hand has touched the staff the old flag has never touched the ground. America can never fulfil its mission of saving the world until it exemplifies the spirit of equality, democracy and universal brotherhood in this supreme test of the melting pot."

Walter Rauschenbusch has for the first time spoken out on the Negro problem:

"It seems clear to me," he says, "that any religion which claims to be Christianity must not only teach us to respect the worth of others, but must also stiffen the backbone of men and teach them to respect themselves. There is some historical justification for the charge of Nietzsche that Christianity has taught the servile virtues of patience and submission. I believe in gentleness and meekness, but not in servility. I have no faith in force methods and even believe in non-resistance, but not in a non-resistance of cowardice and silence. There was nothing cringing in Jesus. He did not strike back, but neither did he flinch. He was 'the terrible meek.'

"I am thinking of the Negro race in saying this. For years the problem of the two races in the South has seemed to me so tragic, so insoluble, that I have never yet ventured to discuss it in public. We, of the North have come to realize that the problem of the black man was solved fifty years ago in anger and bitterness and, therefore, solved very poorly. We realize that we cannot solve it for the South. But no solution by Southern men can be permanent which does not satisfy the Christian consciousness of the whole nation. And no solution will satisfy the Christian spirit

of our united nation which does not provide for the progressive awakening of hope and self-respect in the individual Negro and the awakening of race pride and race ambition in all Negro communities. Any white boy in his teens will prove to us that the awful awakening of manhood never takes place without repulsive side products, such as sullenness, stubbornness and insolence. But the cure for the evils of incipient manhood is maturer manhood, and not repression. We are hearing voices from the South that practically condemn the black race permanently to the position of a servile caste, and some that even deny that the Negro shares the same common human blood with us. We know well that these views represent only one drift in Southern thought, perhaps only a small minority. But we have before this seen a small oligarchy with determined convictions, and backed by inherited social prejudices and concrete economic interests, swinging great sections of the nation with them and imperiling the moral progress of our people. We owe it to our brethren in the South, who are our beloved kinsmen and one with us, to say that the solution of the problem does not lie that way and never will."

SAVE SOUTH CAROLINA.

"South Carolina was a glorious State; South Carolina is a glorious State; but by all that's holy, the good people of South Carolina ought to take hold of their State government. The impossible Blease is a blot on the splendid history of the Palmetto State. Those who follow his lead deserve, as they will in time receive, the condemnation of the better people of the South, irrespective of color. To defeat Hampton and Butler, and the type of gentleman statesmen of whom they were representatives, Tillman and his followers sowed the dragon's teeth, which in the fertile soil of prejudice fructified and grew, until to-day there is a harvest of blind passion and brutal prejudice rampant in the State that for years was in the forefront of American civilization.

"One body of the legislature of South Carolina has passed a bill prohibiting white people from teaching Negroes. This is but an illustration of the criminally shortsighted legislation proposed by those whose hold upon office is only through ignorance and prejudice."—Lexington (Ky.) *Herald.*

THE WORLD PROBLEM OF THE COLOR LINE.

The color consciousness is getting to be all pervasive. A writer in the London *Chronicle* says:

"Mr. Bryce's remarks on race antagonism remind me of a day when I took an American visitor 'round the metropolis sightseeing. It was his first visit to this country, and at the close of the day he gave me his impressions. One of them was a disagreeable one, occasioned by his observation of the fact that the Negro in our country is treated as a man and a brother. I had quite unconsciously subjected my American guest to the annoyance of having to sit in close proximity to a colored gentleman at a restaurant which we visited, and of meeting another, a noted musician, at a literary club. We argued the question at some length, but I soon found that the antagonism lay deeper than argument. It was instinctive and ineradicable, and yet, oddly enough, he was of British stock. Two or three generations of ancestry in the United States had sufficed to set up in him this incurable race prejudice."

A white South African, writing from London to the *Natal Witness,* declares that:

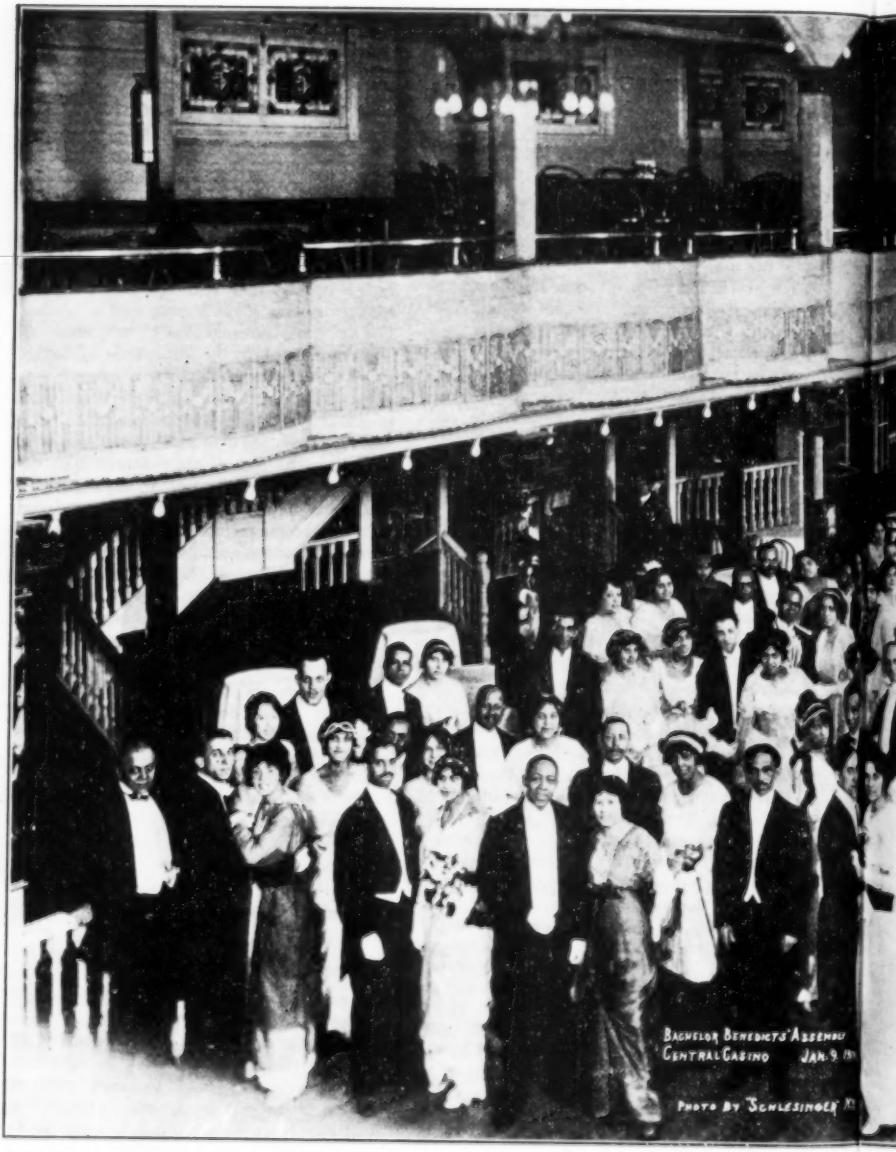
"In a country like South Africa, where the dark races outnumber the whites by something like six to one, there must be no cheese-paring tactics; no soft-soaping methods; no brotherly love between black and white. 'Once a nigger, always a nigger.' It is a terrible thing to say; but once you educate and Christianize your native you make a blackguard of him.

"If the English people could only realize something of the awfulness of the 'black peril' evil in South Africa, they would draw in their horns, and keep their hospitality to people of their own color and not encourage the blacks as they do to-day."

The *A. P. O.*, a colored paper of South Africa, says in answer to Sir Thomas Watt:

"Why the success of the Indian strike should ultimately lead to 'mob rule' by natives is difficult to conceive, except it be used simply as an argument to scare whites into supporting the government to persecute Indians.

"Mob rule, indeed! If ever there were 'mob rule' in South Africa, it came into existence with the birth of the Botha government. The white mob has fleeced the


Bachelor Benedicts' Assembly
Central Casino
Jan. 9
Photo By Schlesinger

II.—THE BACHELOR-BENEDICTS' ASSEMBLY, NEW YORK CITY.

natives to the tune of nearly £4,000,000 since union, out of which Sir Thomas Watt gets £3,000 a year. The white mobs are burning Kaffir kraals to drive natives into slavery. And it is to put an end to this mob rule and establish law and order that the natives will and must one day strike, and that at no distant date."

William Pickens has this interesting comment in the *Congregationalist:*

"A Negro in Europe pretty soon develops infallible tests by which he can tell Americans at sight. A white man in Paris, if he be a Frenchman, who has not seen a dozen Negroes in all his life, will give the Negro a look of normal curiosity and pass on; but a white man in Paris, who has just come from some part of Mississippi, where five-sixths of the inhabitants are colored, will stare at a Negro in the Champs de Mars as if he had never seen one before, and, alas! he may not only stare, but frown. If a black man enters a car in which all the places are taken but one, and the person sitting next to it tries to spread himself over two seats so as to prevent the Negro from sitting, he knows that person to be an American.

"If he enters a dining room in Berlin and some guest gives him a tigerish look, as if to say, 'You have no business here,' he knows that guest is his fellow countryman. If the people across the table seize the dish of food deposited by the waiter, rake all the contents into their own plates and leer at the Negro contemptuously, he knows they are folks from home. If he is on the deck of a Rhine steamer and some meddlesome person at a safe distance interlards a remark with 'nigger,' he recognizes a person from the chivalrous part of the United States. If anybody anywhere offers him gratuitous insult, he recognizes in that body one of those whom the newspapers at home call his 'best friends.' Of course, there are other Americans than these abroad, but the Negro meets no such person from any other part of the world, civilized or savage, Christian or heathen.

"I saw one young woman from Arkansas who, when she was in Jerusalem, made a scene in a public dining room when she discovered two colored women seated at another table in a far corner from hers. To the great embarrassment of the rest of her party, most of whom were from the North and East, she carried her protest into rebellion and would not eat in that room. And the two colored women were American members of the International Sunday School Convention that had been in session at Zurich. This scene in the old Jerusalem is enough to make the Negro wonder how the Lord will manage it in the New Jerusalem if he admits people from Arkansas."

Battell Loomis writes in the *Independent:*

"There is a colored barber on the Fall River boat 'Commonwealth,' who, by no unpleasant stretch of the imagination, could be called 'nigger.'

"I had my hair cut by him the other day and, to while away my time, picked up the book he had been reading. It was essays on the style and aim of Goethe's writings. I laid the volume down again, since its owner at once outdistanced it in interest to my mind. From 59th Street, East River, to the pier in the North, I enjoyed that most excellent of pleasures, communion with a human heart and an aspiring mind. The man was familiar with the late Coleridge-Taylor's subtle harmonizations of African melodies and was well read in the literary works of this country.

"I cite this Negro thus fully because it is my purpose emphatically to consider the futility of race distinctions as typified by the vulgar epithets applied in scorn. Other terms—which I might call boomerang words, since they hit their users harder than those they are aimed at—are 'dago,' 'chink,' 'sheenie' and 'gringo.' These are all used in the world and I quote the latter because it is applied in Southern quarters to us superior white men in the North of the Western hemisphere.

"It simply doesn't apply. We are Americans, not gringos. So, logically, are our scorned brethren Italians, Chinese, Nipponese and Jews. There can be no disparative race distinction between men. A man, and there are some of every color, is, above all petty definitions, secure in his title to manhood and he will seek and find his own if he has to despise his own kin to do it."

Ex-President Taft has recently been recommending national compensation for the lynching of *foreigners.* He says in the *Independent:*

"It does not soothe one's pride of country to note the number of lynchings of our own citizens that go unwhipped of justice

and that are properly held up to us with scorn whenever we assume, as we too frequently do, a morality higher than and a government better than that of other peoples. Nor is our feeling in this regard rendered less acute by hearing from the governors of some of our States, expressions brazenly defending and approving such lynchings. Still more embarrassing is our situation, when we are called upon to explain to a government with whom we have made a solemn covenant to protect its citizens or subjects in their right of peaceable residence here and in the enjoyment of business and happiness under the ægis of the United States, to have to say that while we did make a covenent, they ought to have known that under our system we as a government had no means of performing that covenant or of punishing those who, as our citizens, had grossly violated it."

UNCLE MOSE SUGGESTS.

"I doan want no hifalutin' comberfercations 'bout de independence ob de farmer. By de time you rent yohr patch ob groun' and gets credit foh de one-eyed mul wid de lame shouldah, and pays Mas' Storekeeper foh bacon and beans, and raise yohr little dab o' cohn, and weah yo' wife and children to a frazzle draggin' cotton bags in de brillin' hot sun, and den sells yo' crop, yo' finds whar yo' independence am at. If yo' dun hab enuff left to take yo' to de new place dat yo' rents in hope ob transubboshicatin' yo' condition, yo' hab bin a very successful agricultahist. Yo' kin den push de lines a little hahdah, and may be, by de time yo' lays down to de las' sleep an' de great crop is done laid by, yo' will have enough ovah de mortgage to pay foh buryin' yo', pervided de brederin' will dig de grave free gratis; and dat will be de fust land you ever owned in all yo' bohn days!"—*Appeal to Reason.*

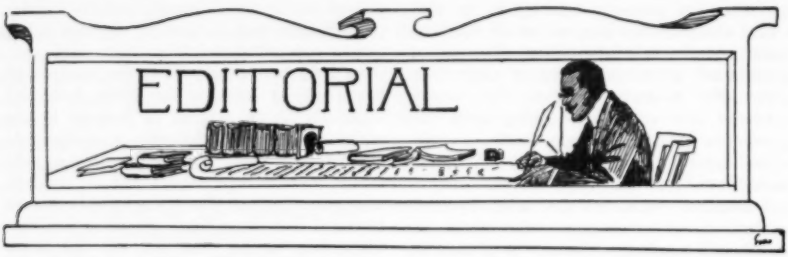
PRIZES.

Last spring the Cottolene Company offered prizes in Albany, Ga., for the best cakes that should be made by using their cooking fat. So much interest was aroused that not only private families, but public schools entered the contest. Miss Zephyr L. Greene, a graduate of Atlanta University, and a teacher of cooking in the colored public school, bought materials under the directions and she and her children baked cakes, put numbers upon them and sent them into the contest. Then the unexpected happened—at least to the white folk and especially to the teacher of cooking in the white school who was also a contestant: Miss Greene won the first prize—a gold medal—over *all* contestants, and her children also won a prize. The white teacher was so incensed that she refused the prize that was given her, saying that she did not know "niggers" would compete!

"'We make a great mistake in believing that the characteristics shown by the Negro in this country are the racial characteristics of his people in Africa and are due to hereditary tendencies. Biology does not show that there is any inequality in the mental outfits of the white and the black races, and, therefore, we should not withhold from the Negro the benefits of education, which are given to his white brother.'

"These are the opinions of Professor Franz Boas, of Columbia University, presented to an audience that gathered in the lecture hall of the university museum, where he delivered the second of a series of three lectures on American racial problems. Professor Boas brought before his audience, by pictures and by specimens from the university museum, examples of the artistic sense of the native of Central Africa, and demonstrated by the exhibits that the African is higher in the scale of artistic mentality than was the North-American Indian.

"He said that the condition of the Negro in America is due to the treatment he received from the whites. The Negro, he said, is capable of advancing just as fast as can the whites, provided the opportunity is not withheld from him. The speaker stated that he did not believe that there should be any legislation such as that existing in many of the Southern States by which marriage is prohibited between members of white and black race. He said that racial problems become less acute when the physical differences between the races are reduced. In this way, he believes, a race problem between the whites and mulattoes would cause less apprehension than the present problem involving whites and blacks."—Philadelphia *Record.*



A CRUSADE.

THE Western trip of the chairman of the board of directors was a clarion call to arms. To Chicago, St. Louis, Kansas City and Indianapolis went the cry which had already aroused black Washington as it was never aroused before. Mr. Spingarn told the people, colored and white, that the time had come for organization and work. The new abolitionism has come. Its workers are in the field and its voice is heard from St. Paul to New Orleans and from sea to sea.

Already the Bourbon press of the South, abetted by colored traitors in the North, is taking notice. The Richmond *Times-Dispatch* said in its leading editorial of January 12:

"Someone has sent us a special number of a Negro monthly magazine, which appears to us to be about the most incendiary document that has passed through the mails since the anarchists' literature was barred.

"On its title page this remarkable publication bears this legend: 'Hereditary Bondsmen! Know Ye Not Who Would Be Free Must Strike the Blow?' Answering its own question, the magazine proceeds to list some of the 'blows' valiant Negroes have struck, the race hatred they have aroused, the bloodshed they have precipitated, the insolence which has aroused so many against them. Altogether the array would be amusing were not its purpose so manifestly vicious."

It declares that fighting means razors and revolvers and fears that the whites of the South would be inclined to answer with ruthless repression and cruel injustice. All that has been gained in a generation for good will and peace would be sacrificed.

It then cites the recent Southern Sociological Congress as characteristic of the attitude of the South! On the contrary, that splendid congress is precisely the sort of fighting which we advocate, and there was not a Southern man in it who did not risk his bread and butter by speaking out.

It is the reactionary Bourbonism of the *Times-Dispatch* and its ilk that makes a great moral battle for a new abolition absolutely necessary in the land. The editor thinks that:

"This particular magazine is of limited circulation, and is probably the organ of ambitious Negroes in New York. Its remarks, therefore, are scarcely worthy of consideration and its opinions beneath notice. But were this spirit to spread among the Negroes, we can but think how disastrous would be its workings."

THE CRISIS sold 32,000 copies of its January number, which is a larger circulation than the *Times-Despatch* has. And THE CRISIS renews the invitation to every American, black or white: Join or die. Join the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Support its work, advocate its principles.

Ignore the mischievous intimation of venal colored editors that we are "fight-

ing" Booker T. Washington. We are fighting slavery, caste and cowardice in black men and white; nothing more and nothing less.

LYNCHING.

WE do not blame the people of the United States for being ashamed of lynching, but we have serious doubts if recent methods of curing the evil are going to be really efficacious. We do not refer now to the unjust and dangerous hastening of the trials of accused persons, nor even to the proposed lessening of the penalty for mob murder; but rather to an attempt, deliberate or unintentional, to suppress the truth concerning the present extent of lynching in this land.

THE CRISIS noted this last year. The first reports suggested that only thirty-four persons had been lynched during 1912. The second report published in other papers raised the amount to fifty or more while THE CRISIS' record was "sixty-three, possibly sixty-eight."

As this, however, was our first attempt to keep a record, we let the matter go without comment; but we note for the year 1913 precisely the same phenomena, namely, an early syndicated report in certain papers with thirty-odd lynchings; next comes the Chicago *Tribune*, which has hitherto been looked upon as an authority on lynching statistics, and reports forty-four lynchings for the year. Then comes Mr. B. T. Washington's report saying there were fifty-one.

God knows THE CRISIS is not anxious to increase the red record nor to revel in the spread of this most disgraceful blot upon our civilization. But nevertheless THE CRISIS has counted during the year 1913 seventy-nine and possibly eighty lynchings. There is, of course, much difficulty in determining just the number of lynchings. News agencies in the South often deliberately suppress these reports and in nearly all cases are vague as to names, places and details. It is always possible, therefore, that the same lynching may be reported twice; then, too, there is evident difficulty in determining what constitutes a lynching. Ordinary murders, even though by mobs, have usually not been included. Making all due allowances for these things, THE CRISIS is unable to see any reason for believing that lynching decreased last year. On the contrary, the evidence of a substantial increase seems very strong. We would be only too glad to have our conclusions disproved.

BOOMING THE CRISIS.

THE Washington *Bee*, a weekly colored periodical has been stirred to its vitals by the fear that the money collected in Washington and elsewhere for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is going to be used for the support of THE CRISIS. We assure the editor that not a single cent of such moneys goes to the support of THE CRISIS. THE CRISIS supports itself, and has from the beginning, with the single exception that the association provides an editor for it.

Even this, however, does not apparently suit the nimble *Bee*. "But the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People ignores the splendid, vitalizing work of the race newspapers already established, and established and financed by their editors, while concentrating its efforts and giving of its funds exclusively to make THE CRISIS, a very late comer, the real and only organ of the race." Here again the editor is mistaken. Far from displacing the colored weekly newspapers, THE CRISIS is giving them all possible publicity and full and careful credit for everything which it reprints.

THE CRISIS regrets, however, that the amount of matter published in the *Bee* and in many other papers, which is

worth reprinting or even reading, is not nearly as large as it ought to be. Moreover, THE CRISIS is convinced that more careful attention to some of the very things which this editor denounces would bring larger success to the colored weekly papers.

First: *Facts.* Of the newspapers mentioned only one, the *Afro-American Ledger,* makes a careful and valuable attempt to present the facts concerning the Negro. The others present some of the facts, but in a partial and incomplete way.

Second: *English.* Some of the best of colored papers are so wretchedly careless in their use of the English language and sense of the value of words that when they see English they are apt to mistake it for something which the *Bee* mysteriously characterizes as "Oscar Wilde atomized sentences," whatever that may be.

But third and most important: Few of the colored weekly papers have stood staunch for *principle.* Outside the *Guardian* and the Cleveland *Gazette* there have not been more than one or two colored papers from whom the Negro people could expect year in and year out strong, staunch advocacy of the fundamental principles of freedom and justice. Small wonder that they welcome a periodical which (whatever its many faults may be) at least tries to give the facts, talk English and stand as an unpurchasable advocate of justice and right.

TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION, PLUS THEFT.

NEGROES form 40 per cent. of the population of Memphis, Tenn. The city laid the following taxes during the year 1912:

For General Purposes.....	$1.32	on $100
For Public Schools.....	.25	on $100
Total City Rate.....	1.57	
State Levy for Parks.....	.15	on $100
State Levy for Cossett Library	.03	on $100
Total Rate for City.....	$1.75	on $100

State and County Taxes.

State	.35	on $100
County	.21	on $100
Schools	.32	on $100
High Schools	.01	on $100
Bolton College	.01	on $100
Industrial School	.01	on $100
Industrial School Apportionment.....	.01½	on $100
M. & O. R. R. Sinking Fund..	.01	on $100
County Bonds Sinking Fund..	.01	on $100
Levee Bonds Sinking Fund..	.01	on $100
Interest	.05	on $100
Bridge	.08	on $100
Turnpike	.15	on $100
Normal School	.01	on $100

From this taxation the Negroes get less than half their proportionate share for public schools and not one-fourth their share of public improvements; they cannot enter the parks for which they paid, but in 1913 they were given a small plot of land for a park. They are denied all access whatsoever to the following places which they support by taxation:

The Cossett Library.
The high school.
Bolton College.
The industrial school.
The normal school.

And Negroes have not a single representative in the city government.

Not only this, but they are large renters of real estate. Everybody knows that the renter of real estate pays the taxes on it because the owner invariably charges him enough to pay the taxes and repairs and a reasonable (or unreasonable) return in addition.

Who is supporting Memphis?

Who is supporting the South?

Taxation without representation is tyranny.

THE SURVEY.

THE editor of the *Survey* expresses to us his dissatisfaction with an editorial in our last issue, because of the omission of a paragraph which was in the first draft of the statement referred to, and because an official of this organization also objected to paragraph six. The omitted paragraph

simply stated that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was working for the mentioned objects. When the *Survey* questioned this the author said, "Omit it." But the *Survey* refused even then to print the article. As to the objections raised by any official of this organization the editor of THE CRISIS has no knowledge of any such action. The *Survey* has, of course, the right to reject even solicited manuscripts after acceptance and for any reason or none. But the objection at the time as stated to the writer was certainly the inclusion of paragraph six, and all other objections seemed subsidiary to this.

A LITTLE PLAY.

TIME: Now.

Place: Here.

Enter the Pale One and the Brown One, dressed alike, speaking English, but coming from opposite entrances.

The Pale One: "Colored people are dirty, ignorant, lazy, poor and rude. Until they become clean, intelligent, thrifty, well to do and polite they must expect to be treated badly."

The Brown One: "Are all colored people dirty, ignorant, lazy and rude? If so, I am colored and therefore I must be——"

The Pale One: "Oh, no! I mean most colored people; or at any rate some colored people."

The Brown One: "And therefore should all colored people be treated badly, or only the dirty and ignorant and lazy and poor and rude?"

The Pale One: "Only the dirty and ignorant and——"

The Brown One: "And is it only dirty, ignorant, lazy, poor and rude *colored* folk who are to be badly treated?"

The Pale One: "Certainly not. All people who are dirty, ignorant, lazy, poor and rude must expect bad treatment."

The Brown One: "And has history proven that 'bad treatment' is the best cure for dirt, ignorance, poverty and rudeness, or is bad treatment their cause?"

The Pale One: "I can't go into that. At present they are treated badly."

The Brown One: "They surely are. And now, finally, how shall I be treated?"

The Pale One: "You shan't marry my sister."

The Brown One: "I don't want to; but to return to the subject——"

The Pale One: "You are seeking social equality!"

The Brown One: "If that means I'm seeking decent treatment——"

The Pale One: "You belong to an inferior race!"

The Brown One: "For Heaven's sake——"

The Pale One: "Oh, bother!"

Exit the Pale One in anger.

Exit the Brown One in thought.

FROM THE NEW YORK "WORLD."

"TO the editor of the *World:*

"I feel it my duty to praise the Negro crew of the 'Monroe.' Why I speak of the Negroes especially is because their great work of rescuing and sacrificing has not been fully appreciated.

"Every sensible and considerate man knows that these men deserve unlimited credit. There has been very much said about the wireless operator and the officers' bravery. Unquestionably they were extremely brave and they will be long remembered; but the colored hero who got out of his lifeboat to give his seat to a lady and then took chances on swimming for his life, which he lost, is complimented as a 'brave coon,' a 'good nigger,' etc., and will soon be forgotten.

"Some people can see all the evil Negroes do, but very little of the good.

"JOHN Y. MORSE."

The Association of Negro Secondary and Industrial Schools

By LESLIE PINCKNEY HILL

THE Association of Negro Secondary and Industrial Schools is an attempt on the part of eighteen Southern schools, most of them without adequate endowment, to bind their efforts in two main directions. The first object is to create a wider general interest in the work which these schools are doing for the neglected masses of colored people throughout the country. It is well known that these institutions supply what the public-school systems cannot or will not attempt. They offer not only the three R's, but also instruction in personal hygiene, home sanitation, good manners, agricultural and trade or manual work. It is only in the last few years that the public schools have given any attention whatever to those special needs of our people, failure to supply which has been the chief explanation of what is called the Negro problem in the South. Schools like those of this association have courageously endeavored to meet the situation, untrammeled by the conventions and traditions of the prevalent schools system, and with the faith that there should be no race problem, so far as ordinary intelligence and the ability to do well some part of the world's work may be required of Negro youth. These schools have had as their major aim the development of productive citizens. The remarkable degree in which they have actually succeeded in reaching this aim is acknowledged on all sides. It is the graduates of these institutions who are becoming leaders in education, in the building up of a higher home life, and in widening the bounds of industrial opportunity for their people from within.

These schools have accomplished all this with very little money. Such resources as have been available have been the result of constant appeals to the public and volunteered subscriptions. The attitude of the public toward charities of all sorts has undergone radical changes in the last few years. There is a decided tendency to give to good causes only after thorough investigation. This is right. There is also a tendency to think that enough is being done for the education of the Negro in the South. This is wrong. There is hardly a single private school for colored people in the South that is able now to keep up with the rapid rise in the cost of supplies of every sort, particularly food supplies. It is extremely hard to get good teachers for starvation salaries, and money for salaries is another most grievous need. The quality of teaching is indirectly conditioned upon the quality of the teacher. Young men of mental and physical vigor can make more money in almost any other vocation than teaching. The same general statement may be made about women, who soon drop out either for marriage or for some industrial work that will yield more in dollars and cents. Money, then, is dreadfully needed.

The principals of these schools have gone North ever since the war to appeal to charitably disposed individuals, to churches, and to the philanthropic societies and organizations for the help they have had to secure. But this system has practically broken down, and on all hands one hears the cry that some better method of supporting these institutions will have to be found. Moreover, the Northerner is more and more inclined every year to concentrate upon charities at home; and this at a time when representatives from these Southern schools are every year increasing in the North. The situation is now, indeed, so critical that a number of these schools are considering the necessity of having to close their doors, unless some surer means of support can be found.

To awaken a new and more effective public interest, therefore, in these schools is the first aim of the association. The second aim is to make known to the public the exact status of every school for the training of Negroes in the United States, to the end that those whose work is worthy, and whose accounting for funds received is what it ought to be, may receive the support they deserve, and, on the other hand, that the fraudulent and improperly conducted institutions, existing more on paper than in fact, and increasing the severe burden which the honest schools have already to carry,

may be set before the public in the proper light. It is the belief of the association that the best people, white and colored, throughout the country do appreciate what these schools are attempting, and are willing to continue their support of them if they can be assured that they are conducted upon approved present-day business principles, that they are not wasting their resources, and are giving to the thousands of young people who stream through them real education. The association also feels it a duty to safeguard the supporting public by making it impossible for any member school to fail of exact accounting for every penny that has been received or spent.

Now it is proposed to create this wider interest, and to secure needed money by a very definite program. All the schools of the association are committed to a minimum standard of work as definitely outlined in the minimum course of study, which includes both academic and industrial training. The effort is not made to constrain every institution into one set form or to make all these schools alike in any sense. It is perfectly well understood that one of the most valuable contributions these institutions can make to the whole cause of education is found in the development of individuality and the trying out of well-considered experiments. At the same time it is no more than just and right to the public that each one of these schools shall accomplish a minimum of actual work, both in the three R's and in the industrial departments. It is the guaranteeing of this minimum for which the association vouches. The white schools of the country may be open to the charge of too great rigidity and inflexibility. Our schools, having not yet achieved high standards, are, for the most part, open to the charge of too much laxness. It is this that the association desires to correct.

In the next place the association will endeavor to save the principals of these several schools from the dreadful waste of time and talent to which they have heretofore been subjected by rason of the necessity upon them of continually traveling from one end of the country to the other for funds. It proposes to do this by apportioning definite territory to each member school and organizing campaigns that will be so intensive as to reach within that area every American citizen who ought to be called upon for help. These campaigns will be conducted on the scientific plan used by any good farmer in cultivating a plot of ground. Instead of scattering his efforts over a wide area, he will concentrate. Wherever this principle has been applied to farming, results have abundantly justified the method. Large cities like New York, Philadelphia, Chicago and Boston will be left open to all the schools that have supporters there, but even in these instances there will be a definite understanding among the schools that from year to year strong campaigns will be waged in the interest of the association as a whole, the subscriptions resulting to be apportioned among all the schools according to their respective payrolls for teachers or on some other well-considered basis. It will require on the part of each school the highest degree of self-control, sincerity and co-operation to make such a plan successful. If, however, the several schools can rise to this it will not merely mark a new epoch in co-operative educative enterprise among colored people, but will doubtless win back to a neglected cause the interest and the backing which once it enjoyed but has now largely lost.

These two main ideas, then, govern the whole scope of the work of the association; first, the creation of a wider and more effective interest in educational work among Negroes by making known as widely as possible their exact status and, secondly, the dividing of the whole country into territories to which each of these several schools, through stated periods, shall be assigned for its soliciting, this soliciting to be done by intensively organized campaigns.

A third important aim that might be mentioned is that of discouraging the starting of new schools where there is no obvious need or means of support, and the wasteful duplication of work in communities where two poor, struggling institutions might be combined to make one good school.

To carry forward this program there is need of the immediate opening of a central office in New York City. For this arrangements have already been made. This office will be in charge of a high-grade manager, who will build up an exhaustive bureau of exact statistics covering the work of every Negro school in the United States. This office will also be responsible for organizing the campaigns mentioned above and

for wide publicity. It will, finally, be the headquarters of all the schools of the association, and through its agencies will have complete charge of the raising and apportionment of funds.

It is gratifying to know that hardly any business man of standing thus far approached has failed to endorse these central ideas of the association Even those who are not certain as to what it may accomplish feel that it is an experiment highly worth while, and urge the necessity of trying it out. Dr. James H. Dillard, of the Jeanes and Slater Funds, has stated that he thinks the enterprise one of the two most important forward steps he has known in Negro education in the United States, the other being the Association of Negro Colleges recently formed. Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard has been an earnest supporter of the idea, and made possible the first meeting in New York last year. Mr. Clarence H. Kelsey, president of the Title Guarantee and Trust Company, has been equally helpful, having offered one-fourth of the money necessary for the expenses of the central office during this first year of experiment.

There are in the United States nearly two hundred schools that ought to be deeply interested in what this association is attempting. Only eighteen at present are actually members. If these eighteen can prove faithful to the great trust to which they are now committed, there is little doubt that the present year will show a largely increased membership.

The next meeting of the association will be held at the Hobart Library, 416 Lafayette Street, New York City, on Wednesday, March 25, 1914.

THE STRUGGLE

By SAMUEL H. BISHOP

IN the quiet of a Southern evening, as the great red sun was falling slowly behind a distant line of pines, its light breaking into shimmering aisles across a curiously foreshortened landscape, two men were sitting on the steps leading to the boys' dormitory of a school for Negroes. One was a youth into whose dreamy and saddened eyes the horizontal rays of the sun were pouring as if, robbed of their blinding glare by the dark trunks of the pines and the tender haze of evening, they would drown the pain in the golden glory of a faultless and lingering day. He had been a student in the school where he was now a commencement guest; and the old purposes and ideals nurtured in the place he loved had been surging from his heart into eyes which held in their unseeing gaze the delicately tinted gray of the capitol dome rising among the nearer trees, and onto a tongue that knew the tried and sacred confidence of his teacher's ear. The other was the teacher who had shared his boyish dreams, and who, indeed, had inspired the best he had hoped and purposed in the dear old days of school. From the lips of the teacher, as they sat together, while to and fro over the campus walked happy and hopeful groups of fresh graduates or younger students who felt themselves a year nearer their goal by reason of the events of the day now closing, had dropped those wonderful words of Matthew Arnold:

"Docile echoes of the eternal voice, pliant organs of the infinite will, such workers are going along with the essential movement of the world; and this is their strength and their happy and divine fortune." And then he had paraphrased what follows: "If the believers in an unrelenting purpose which never yields to the pressure of a generous love, and of the homely obligations of blood and of circumstance, are impatient with us and call us effeminate, though they surpass us in the sphere of influence by all the superiority of their genius and energies, yet we go the way the human race is going; and while they abolish the listening fidelities which constitute social purpose and the organized life of man, we may hope we help to make those initial bonds in the multiplication of which consists the kingdom of God. The altering equilibrium and redistribution of life," he added, "the unexpected pressure of that mysterious thing we call duty and

the consequent varyings of purpose only diversify our opportunities and open chances to us for new ideals. No outward changes of condition in life can keep the nightingale of its eternal meaning from singing in the soul and in the visible life and work of every man who has generously and of deliberate volition admitted into his purpose the conditioning purpose by which God relates him to his fellow man. As James says, 'Mere ideals are the cheapest things in life'; the real significance of life is the offspring of the marriage of ideals and a deep-willed social sympathy."

The relationship of pupil and teacher had been very close, had had in it on the one side that wonderful sympathy which Dr. Arnold had with the boys at Rugby, and on the other that faith and reverence which one feels as he sees Stanley sitting in Rugby chapel with his eyes fixed upon the teacher who was to him the "image of high principle and feeling," or Tom Brown kneeling at the grave of him who had opened his eyes to the glory of the human brotherhood and softened his heart till it could feel its bond. The teacher, too, knew what it means to see the broken arcs of cherished dreams lying like bits of the spectrum on the shifting waters of the sea. He had been educated at Codrington College, the Oxford of the British West Indies, and had longed with all his soul to use the ancient ideals of England's noblest and richest culture for the realization of what he proudly termed the "message of his Coromantee fathers," of whom Christopher Codrington had said: "There never was a rascal or coward of that nation."

Now he had come to see that a people must plow before it can reap, must work with its hands as it thinks with its mind, must have clean and healthy bodies if it is to have lucid and far-reaching spiritual vision, must prove its earthly competence if it would attain to heavenly fulfilment. A disciple of the classics of lustrous and inviolate Greece, of earth-swaying Rome, of the Italy of Dante and Petrarch, of Shakespearean England, of the German Aufklarung, he had adjusted himself, though not without some bitter pain, to the soil-born gospel of twentieth-century America. With Pericles he could now correlate Knapp, and with Aristotle, McIver as the apostles of a civilization which cultivates universal excellence rather than rewards it as the gift of the capricious gods to the few.

It was a hard lesson, but he had learned it; and he could therefore assuage the pain of the youth who had yet to learn that it is not the maintenance detached and unsullied of ideals, but their use in the environment of the common life which constitutes the satisfaction and joy of existence. Life is not a pearl of great price for the treasure box, but a many-tentacled trust for all the varying needs of man. As they had been sitting together the youth had told again the story of the iron in his soul—the tragedy of his people's isolation from the gracious amenities, the inner reserves, the unrestrained powers and fulfilments which make the best of American life beautiful and noble and great; the grinding obligations they must assume and the satisfactions they must forego; the fealties they must respect and the limitations to which they must submit. "My people are oppressed," said he; "they need deliverers—men learned in law and history, men who will not bow to any prejudice, men whose character and power will force the issues of right and justice into the daily economic and political life of the South and of the country. Many is the time I have walked around that gray old capitol, beautiful in some of its lines, yet with its ugly dome and dust-stained marble speaking the ugly wrongs and grimy injustices of the political system it houses. As a boy I was a leader in games and in debate, the chosen of my fellows—with their poor liberty of choice. Can my people be free while they are shackled and gagged at the ballot box, when men represent them who deny them what makes representation valid and worthful? Did not all nature, the spirit of my race, the need of my class call upon me to study law, get power, enter as lawmaker that old building which has lost its borrowed sunset glow while we have been looking at it, push my way to Congress where only my people's wrongs can be righted? You say, with Matthew Arnold, whom I do not know, I am going with the essential movement of the world. Is it the essential movement of power? Is there not a greater strength, a diviner fortune than to submit for oneself or for one's people to what one knows to be wrong?"

The sun had set and the dusk had fallen, lights presaging the evening gaieties had sprung from the various buildings on the grounds, some of the students were packing for early departure, and there was a mingled sense of culmination and disintegration in the air and in the varying activities of the evening peculiar to the closing of a school year. "Let us go in," said the teacher; and together they went upstairs and along the corridors, between rows of trunks in various stages of packing, to the room where they had so often talked of life and of its meanings. The youth flung himself onto the bed as if his rebellious spirit had wearied the body with its insistent and incessant chafings and beatings; and as the teacher looked at him through the dusk a gentle sarcasm crept into his voice, though his words were very slow and tender, for he feared the boy might not understand. He took him to the uninhabited places where the real prophets and leaders have found their God, to the region beyond the Jordan where the Nazarene first saw the vision of His mission. He pictured the Christ as the thaumaturge the boy in his impatience wished to be—making bread of stones, flying on angels' wings, felling the eagles and the legions of Roman power, the world conquered, and the loud-tongued praises of men of every clime; but at the awful cost of pain, patience, faith, honor and love.

Then the sarcasm vanished and a yearning took its place. He called to the boy's mind how the Master rejected force, how He set His face toward Jerusalem and Gallilee and the doubtful issues of an uneven struggle with a blind and adulterous generation. "Force and the vulgar arts of the thaumaturge cannot settle human problems," said he so yearningly and so winsomely that the youth sat erect and listened as to music across a starlit water. "Law never brought men freedom; institutions and forms of government never alone inspired the genius or furnished the guarantees of a noble citizenship; force never softened hardened hearts or tore the scales from blinded eyes. The issues of a people's life are in the heart of the life itself, and the remedy of a people's wrongs in a character that abashes and makes wrong both ridiculous and monstrous. The highest and most productive service to life is not particular performance but abundant life. The terms of leadership are not those of a profession but those of a vital human soul, and the medium of leadership is the connected possibility and the wide-reaching assent which grow out of the order of God. You," he said, "failed to make your arrangements for your law course at Howard; but you have literary skill, knowledge of your people's needs and an unusual bent for good farming. If it be to your ambition the *via dolorosa* to Calvary, is it not better to farm as you are doing, to teach as I know you are teaching—at a salary next to nothing—a rural school which would have been closed if you had not volunteered, to light small torches for the hands of humble beginners, to inspire efficiency and home building for a people whose first needs are of honest usefulness and healthy homes, than to curse and be cursed in a battle which does not seem to have been ordered either of God or of circumstance? Mark you, I am not defending wrong or belittling your ambition. Life is always a battle; but you are in it and you must win.

"'Say not the struggle naught availeth,
The labor and the wounds are vain,
The enemy faints not, nor faileth,
And as things have been they remain.

If hopes were dupes, fears may be liars;
It may be, in yon smoke concealed,
Your comrades chase e'en now the fliers,
And but for you possess the field.

For while the tired waves vainly breaking,
Seem here no painful inch to gain,
Far back, through creeks and inlets making
Comes silent, flooding in, the main.

And not by eastern windows only,
When daylight comes, comes in the light;
In front, the sun climbs slow, how slowly,
But westward—look, the land is bright.'"

The summer stars swing silently through the deep, dark blue of the sky, trunks are jammed shut in the corridors outside, a group of boys are singing "Climbing Jacob's Ladder," in the distance music and dancing sound from the assembly hall; and from the youth on the bed in that darkened room comes in a whispering sob which conceals a chorus: "Yes, that is life." As the master went to his room his heart thrilled with a joy which was almost alarm; for it was only that afternoon that while talking to an ambitious girl of the essentials of a girl's education she had ejaculated as he paused lest he might weary her: "That would be good; that would be life."

The Smith-Lever Bill and Other Work

of the

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

AGAIN the association finds itself on the firing line in Washington. First came the segregation matter and now the Smith-Lever bill, which provides for co-operative agricultural extension work between the agricultural colleges in the several States and the United States Department of Agriculture.

The Smith bill, introduced into the Senate by Hoke Smith of Georgia, and identical with the Lever bill, introduced into the House by Asbury F. Lever of South Carolina, proposes to appropriate the total sum of $15,120,000 during the next ten years and thereafter the sum of $3,000,000 a year for this agricultural extension work.

Since the bills make no mention of race whatever, they are apparently fair. Only experts and those very familiar with the history of the color line would grasp the sinister significance of the provision which allows the legislatures of the States to name the college or colleges which are to administer these funds. In all the Southern States, except Tennessee, there are separate agricultural colleges for the education of white and colored students. This provision would enable the legislature of any State to give the entire appropriation for that State to the white colleges.

The bill was first called to our attention by our legislative expert in Washington. Mr. Brinsmade, the attorney for the association, immediately went to Washington. Before he reached there, however, the bill had been rushed through the House. This was a sudden move and made our work more difficult. Mr. Brinsmade succeeded in interesting a number of Senators. He drafted an amendment to safeguard the interests of the colored farmers which, at our suggestion, was introduced by Senator Jones of Washington. To meet the requests for fuller information on the subject, Mr. Brinsmade and Dr. Du Bois compiled a memorandum in support of the amendment. Copies of this may be secured at headquarters for 15 cents each so long as the supply lasts.

To quote from the memorandum: "The proposed amendment is calculated to insure to the colored farmers of the South a share in the benefits to be derived from the money appropriated under the act. As the bill reads without the amendment, the colored farmers may not receive any of the benefits in these appropriations. Certainly they will not receive their fair share." The memorandum then shows by detailed statistics that when the interests of colored farmers have not been expressly safeguarded they have received only a small proportion of their proper share of funds appropriated for agricultural extension.

To quote again from the memorandum: "The colored farmer is the last man who should be deprived of the benefits of the proposed act.

"A.—If his interests alone are considered, this is obviously so. With his poorer opportunity for acquiring an education, he is at a distinct disadvantage in his effort to compete with his white neighbor. The reports show, however, that he has done remarkably well. A slightly larger proportion of the colored than of the white rural population attended at agricultural colleges. It is those who cannot go to the colleges that the act is primarily intended to benefit. Consequently the colored farmers need those appropriations at least as badly as the white.

"B.—If the interests of the whole South are considered, we arrive at the same results. It is for the interests of the South that as much as possible be made of its vast agricultural resources, which are at the present time so insufficiently developed. A

large proportion of the farms in the South are operated by Negroes, either as owners, part owners, managers, share tenants or cash tenants. The total value of farm property operated by Negroes was $1,116,641,576, as compared with $7,855,485,313, the total value of white farm property. (See 1910 census.) It cannot seriously be urged that it is for the advantage of the South that the benefits to be derived from this bill shall not be shared by a race which operates $1,116,641,576 worth of farm property."

When the bill was debated, Senator Vardaman was leader of the fight against the amendment on the ground that the colored people themselves wish the money to which they are entitled distributed by the white colleges. Not only have the Senators had the advantage of the facts contained in our memorandum, but they have been interviewed personally by Mr. Brinsmade, Dr. Du Bois and others, so that they did not have the excuse offered by some of the Representatives, who voted for the bill and then said that they did not realize what they were doing. The whole matter was thoroughly thrashed out in the Senate committee on agriculture and forestry, which reported the Smith bill without amendment, and, as one of the members of this committee admitted, it was thoroughly understood that the bill without amendment did not secure to the colored colleges their fair share of the proposed appropriations.

Just before the Jones amendment was voted on, Senator Shafroth offered a substitute which placed the decision as to what colleges should distribute the funds jointly in the hands of the governor of the State and the Secretary of Agriculture, instead of in the hands of the State legislature. Senator Jones objected that this was not a proper substitute, but was rather an amendment to perfect the bill. As such it was voted on and adopted. There is no doubt that the Southern Senators were forced to offer this amendment by the two days' fight in the Senate on the Jones amendment.

This amendment is not as fair as the Jones amendment, but an important point is gained in that the Federal Government is given equal power with the States in deciding what colleges shall administer the funds.

The Jones amendment was then voted on and defeated by a vote of 32 to 23. The vote would certainly have been much closer had the Shafroth amendment not been previously adopted. Certain Senators who had announced their intention to vote for the Jones amendment eventually voted against it.

An amendment proposed by Senator Hitchcock, requiring that in the demonstration work itself there shall be no race discrimination, was then adopted without roll call.

If the House does not concur in the Shafroth and Hitchcock amendments the bill will go to conference. The South does not wish a second fight on the race question, and therefore we have every reason to believe that the Shafroth amendment will be incorporated in the bill as finally passed.

As usual the association is having difficulty in getting publicity for this important measure. Special letters and a "story" prepared by a trained newspaper man have been sent to a large number of papers and an effort has been made to reach the correspondents of the big dailies in Washington. Other organizations and friends of our association are trying to help.

The Pennsylvania Abolition Society, whose president is Mr. Henry W. Wilbur, our good friend, and whose secretary is Mr. Ellwood Heacock, also president of our Philadelphia branch, is circulating an "appeal for justice," which it has sent to members of Congress and to others. This society is also attempting to get publicity in the press. Its appeal shows clearly how the Smith-Lever bill, without the Jones amendment, violates the amendment to the Morrill act, which safeguarded the colored colleges. In commenting further upon the clause in the Smith-Lever bill, which permits the legislature of any State to designate the white college as the distributor of the national fund for education, the appeal says: "We feel that no such temptation in the nature of an opportunity should be placed in the way of any white college in our country."

MEETINGS.

THE association has held a number of successful meetings in addition to those mentioned under branches. Lack of space prevented our noting these in the last issue of THE CRISIS.

In Schenectady Mr. Villard addressed a large and appreciative audience at Union

College. In Jersey City he addressed an enthusiastic meeting held under the auspices of the committee of one hundred of Hudson County. The president of this committee is Dr. George E. Cannon.

Protest meetings against segregation were held in the Mount Olivet Baptist Church, with Dr. William P. Hayes, Jr., presiding; in the Church of the Messiah, Dr. John Haynes Holmes presiding, and in Cooper Union. The speakers included Miss Ovington, Dr. Du Bois, Mrs. M. C. Lawton, Mr. Arthur B. Spingarn, Mr. Wilford H. Smith. The addresses at the Cooper Union meeting were of an unusually high quality. Mr. Bennet made a delightful presiding officer. The speakers were Miss Lillian D. Wald, head of the Henry Street Settlement, Dr. Du Bois, who gave his paper on farm segregation, and Mr. Villard, who made a most eloquent address, in which he scored the Smith-Lever bill. Resolutions unanimously passed by the meeting were wired to the President.

On January 8 Dr. Spingarn left New York for a Western trip, on which he visited many of our branches. Space prevents our giving a detailed account of the series of brilliantly successful meetings which he addressed. Most enthusiastic letters of appreciation have been received from all the branches he visited; one of those just chartered sending in 106 new members as a result of their meeting. The expenses of this entire trip were borne by Dr. Spingarn personally.

At Detroit he was entertained at luncheon on January 9 by representative colored citizens at the Hotel Pontchartrain (Detroit's best hotel, which for the first time on this occasion disregarded the color line). Among the white men at this luncheon were Judge Albert H. Murphy, of the Michigan Circuit Court, Mr. Frederick Ingram of the Detroit Charter Commission, and Mr. James Schermerhorn, of the Detroit *Times;* Mr. Francis W. Warren acted as toastmaster. On the evening of the 9th, Dr. Spingarn spoke to an audience of over 1,800, Judge Murphy presiding, and other representative speakers, white and black, also addressing the audience.

At Chicago he was the guest of the City Club, at a luncheon, on the 10th, Mr. Robert McMurdy presiding and introducing him. On the night of the 11th he spoke at the Abraham Lincoln Centre, Chicago, to an audience of over 2,000. He was introduced by Judge Edward Osgood Brown, of the Illinois Circuit Court, president of our local branch; and among the other speakers were Roger N. Baldwin, secretary of the Civic League of St. Louis; Dr. C. E. Bentley, Robert McMurdy, Rev. Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Charles T. Hallinan and Judge Julian W. Mack, of the Federal Commerce Court. On the 12th a little luncheon was arranged for him at the City Club, at which were present Miss Jane Addams, Dr. Bentley, William C. Graves, Mr. Allinson, Mr. Hallinan, Judge Brown and others, and plans were discussed for the Chicago branch and its work during the coming year.

At Quincy he spoke to about 1,200, the Rev. Dr. Hartley, of the Presbyterian Church, and Rabbi Kuppin also speaking.

At Kansas City he spoke to over 2,500, after a reception at which he met the leading citizens of the colored community. In the afternoon he had also spoken at the rooms of the board of public welfare to the students of its classes in civics (white).

At Topeka he spoke at the First Congregational Church (of which Dr. Sheldon, author of "In His Steps," is pastor emeritus) and was introduced by Arthur Capper, Republican-Progressive candidate for governor of Kansas at the election of 1912. Many of the most distinguished officials of the State, county and city were on the platform or in the audience, which numbered over 1,800. After the meeting a banquet was tendered to Dr. Spingarn at the home of James Guy, at which Mr. Capper and many leading white and colored citizens were present.

At St. Louis he spoke to an audience of 3,000 (many being turned away) on the evening of the 19th.

At Indianapolis, after a reception at the local Y. M. C. A., he spoke to an audience of over 2,500. Rev. Mr. Wicks, of the Unitarian Church, and Rabbi Feuerlicht being among the other speakers.

At Cleveland he spoke to over 2,500, being introduced by Rev. Minot Simons, of the Unitarian Church, and being followed by Judge Kennedy and Judge Hadden, of the probate court.

Dr. Spingarn spoke to a large and representative white audience on January 19, at the City Club of St. Louis, at a luncheon

in his honor. The president of the club introduced Rev. John W. Day, of the Church of the Messiah, who in turn introduced Dr. Spingarn. After speaking of the signs of a new sentiment and a new leadership in the South regarding the Negro, Dr. Spingarn devoted himself almost entirely to pointing out that the economic uplift of the Negro was impossible without the safeguarding of his civil and political rights, and ended with a plea for justice and fair play. Incidentally, he answered the contention that the Negro vote was corrupt by pointing to the example of Adams County, O., and other places, where white communities had shown that the presence of the Negro has nothing to do with corruption of the franchise.

The next day the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* devoted three paragraphs to the two speeches, under the heading "*Negroes* Hear Spingarn." After devoting two paragraphs to the evening speech, which had been addressed to Negroes, it added the following paragraph about the afternoon speech, addressed exclusively to white people:

"Professor Spingarn also addressed the City Club yesterday afternoon on 'The Negro and His Problems.' 'The Negro, although he has the right to vote, does not get the full benefit from his vote,' said Spingarn. 'Often he goes to the polls, and instead of placing his vote where it would be for the best interests of his people, sells it, receiving not more than from $3 to $5.' Spingarn asked that the Negro be given the same economic, civic and commercial privileges as the whites."

This absolute fabrication is the St. Louis version of a fifty-minute plea for justice to the Negro. In Dr. Du Bois' "Quest of the Silver Fleece" it is pointed out that the Southern white man, chivalrous and honorable in his relations with other white people, does not hesitate to steal, cheat or lie when dealing with colored people. If this seems an exaggeration, consider the case of Dr. Spingarn and the press of St. Louis.

BRANCHES.

Boston.

At the annual meeting of the Boston branch Mr. Francis J. Garrison was re-elected president; Mr. George G. Bradford, treasurer; Mr. Butler R. Wilson, secretary; Miss Adelene Moffatt and Mrs. May Hallowell Loud, members of the executive committee to serve for three years.

On December 22 the Boston branch held a meeting at the Rush A. M. E. Church. The speakers were Mr. Cobleigh, Rev. Christopher R. Eliot and Mr. Isaac Harris. Mr. Wilson presided.

California.

The Northern California branch has been doing good work in holding meetings of protest against segregation. The branch has recently elected new officers, of which a full list will be printed as soon as it is received at headquarters. The work of the branch is accomplished through several committees who are endeavoring to organize the colored people in the cities about the bay.

Chicago.

The meeting held by the Chicago branch has already been mentioned in connection with Dr. Spingarn's trip. At the annual meeting of the branch, January 11, Judge E. O. Brown was re-elected president; Mr. T. W. Allinson, secretary and treasurer, and Mr. G. R. Arthur, assistant secretary.

District of Columbia.

On January 16 the District of Columbia branch held an election, at which the following officers were elected:

President, Mr. Archibald H. Grimké; treasurer, Mr. G. C. Wilkinson; secretary, Mr. W. B. Hartgrove; executive committee, Miss Charlotte E. Hunter, chairman; Mrs. Julia Layton, Mr. William McCary, Mr. L. M. Hershaw, Rev. A. C. Garner, Mr. Neval H. Thomas.

The chairman of the committee of fifty and more gave a most interesting report upon the work of the committee. We expect to publish this later in The Crisis.

The same evening a meeting was advertised to be held in True Reformers' Hall by the Rev. James L. White, who invited all citizens to hear a lecture upon the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Mr. White, in the notice of his meeting, stated: "I claim that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is doing more harm than any organization since the Civil War, and that the citizens of Washington are being deceived in their support of the said organization, and that segregation is a ghost story."

The Washington *Herald*, in commenting on this, stated that the meeting was held in the Metropolitan Church in M Street. The pastor of the Metropolitan Church made an announcement from his pulpit that there was not a bit of truth in this statement and that no such meeting had been held in that church.

The next day it was stated in the Washington *Star* that no such meeting had been held in either place.

On the anniversary of the birth of Charles Sumner, January 6, the District of Columbia branch held a remarkable mass meeting. The speakers were Senator Clapp, Mr. Thomas Ewing, Mr. Archibald H. Grimké, Judge Wendell Phillips Stafford and Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard. The Rev. I. N. Ross presided. We have had many requests to print Mr. Villard's inspiring address. Notice of its publication will be given later.

HOWARD UNIVERSITY.

The Howard Chapter has commenced its campaign of organization among colleges and universities. The officers are: President, S. A. Allen; vice-president, Madre Penn; secretary, Miss Eulalia Lane; corresponding secretary, T. B. Dyett; treasurer, George Brice.

MUSKOGEE.

The list of the officers of the Muskogee branch is as follows: President, J. E. Johnson; secretary, W. Scott Brown, Jr.; treasurer, J. W. Sharpe; corresponding secretary, Mrs. G. L. Prince; advisory board, Farrar L. McCain, Thos. W. Leahy, John D. Benedict, O. A. Wells, William Bain.

SEATTLE.

The Seattle branch, which has just been chartered, is to be congratulated for the emancipation celebration which it held at the Mount Zion Baptist Church New Year's night. On the program were the Rev. J. L. Williams, Mrs. L. A. Graves, Mr. Eugene Johnson, Mrs. E. Llewellyn, Dr. W. R. Carter and the mayor of Seattle, Hon. George F. Cotterill. A feature of the meeting was three-minute talks by representatives of various States. The Hon. A. R. Black presided.

TACOMA.

Mention should be made of the organization work which is being done by the Tacoma branch. This was the branch which first interested our Seattle members, and now they have almost perfected an organization in Portland, Ore.

Branches have been chartered by the National Association as follows: Cleveland, Providence, Seattle, St. Paul, Trenton and Talladega, Ala. A chapter at Cornell University has been officially recognized and will be chartered. Full lists of the officers of all these branches will be given in the annual report.

THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT

By JUSTICE WENDELL PHILLIPS STAFFORD

"WHEREAS, as is essential to just government, we recognize the equality of all men before the law, and hold that it is the duty of government in its dealings with the people to mete out equal and exact justice to all, of whatever nativity, race, color or persuasion, religious or political; and it being the appropriate object of legislation to enact great fundamental principles into law."
—*Preamble to the Civil Rights Act.*

The men who at the close of the Civil War endeavored to secure the fruits of that great conflict expressed their profound convictions in three Constitutional Amendments and in the Civil Rights Act. The first of these amendments, number thirteen, prohibited slavery. The second, number fourteen, forbade the States to discriminate between the races in regard to civil rights. The third, number fifteen, forbade the States to discriminate between the races in regard to suffrage.

The Civil Rights Act forbade discrimination between the races at any public place, such as theatres, hotels, on railroads, steamboats, etc. The conviction of the time was that we were one people, and that all discriminations by State or nation on the ground of race were inconsistent with the

true spirit of our government. In their view the government was no more a white man's government than it was a black man's government. It was neither. The language of the act was so broad and comprehensive that it included in its prohibition the citizens of the various States. Not only did it forbid the States themselves to discriminate, but it forbade the citizens of the States to do so. In this respect it was held unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, upon the ground that the Congress could not deal directly with the citizens of the States upon this subject but must leave the States to deal with their own citizens. Thus, when a case arose in which a colored person had been discriminated against in a public place by a citizen of one of the States, and in one of the States, the court held that the case was one as to which Congress had no power to legislate and that so far as it had attempted to do so, its attempt was unconstitutional and void. This objection did not apply, however, to such acts of discrimination if they were committed in the Territories, or in the District of Columbia, or on the high seas, because it was admitted that the legislative power of Congress extended to such cases. The court expressly recognized this distinction and held the act void in part only, declining to decide what effect the unconstitutionality of a part might have upon the remainder of the act. Many years passed and no case came to the Supreme Court, in which the discrimination had occurred under such circumstances that the validity of the act, as applying to Federal jurisdiction, could be tested. Recently such a case has arisen and been passed upon. A colored woman, traveling by steamboat on the high seas, from a port in one State to a port in another State, was denied equal accommodations with white passengers solely on the ground of color, and the discrimination was challenged. The court promptly overthrew what was left of the act, by holding that being bad in part it was bad in the whole. They admitted that Congress had the power to forbid such an act of discrimination; they admitted that it had forbidden it. But they said that because Congress had at the same time forbidden people whom they had no right to forbid, therefore even those whom they had a right to forbid were not bound to obey. This result was reached by applying, and it seems to me by misapplying, a well-settled rule of construction. That rule is that when an act has been passed which must stand or fall together, because the legislature would evidently not pass it at all unless it could pass it as a whole, then, if one part was beyond the power of the legislature and must fall, the rest must fall with it. The court said that that was the case here—that if Congress had known that it could not forbid the citizens of the various States from discriminating against each other on the ground of color, it would not have attempted to forbid the citizens of the Territories, or other people subject in this respect to the command of the United States Congress, from so discriminating. That is the point where, as it seems to me, the decision breaks down. For as I have read the history of that period it is too plain for argument that the Congress that passed the Civil Rights Bill would have passed the bill just as far as they had power to pass it. Indeed, it was their very zeal for equal rights that carried them beyond the bounds which the court held existed. Imagine the scorn and contempt with which the decision would have been received by the men who voted for that bill, not merely because it overthrew their work, but even more because it professed to do so in futherance of the real intention of its authors! The suspicion will arise that the court regarded the act as the expression of a sentiment and conviction that has passed away, and made use of this rule of construction to get rid of it. They knew that no Congress of the present day would re-enact the law.

There are other points which, if I were writing for lawyers, I should be glad to elaborate, but I hesitate to do so for lay readers lest I should confuse rather than clarify the subject. To me the case seems as unsound from a strictly legal standpoint as it does from the broader view above indicated. The decision is placed upon two grounds. The first is that the prohibition is in one general expression and so admits of no separation, such as to allow it to be applied to the places over which Congress had jurisdiction. If it had enumerated the places, as thus: "In States, in Territories, in the District of Columbia, on the high seas," etc., then the court might have dropped out the word "States" and left the

law in force as to Territories, the District of Columbia, and the high seas! Is not this sticking in the bark? Is the mental concept any different in one case than in the other? The second is that this is a penal act and therefore must be construed strictly, so as to make no one liable to the penalty unless it was clearly the intention of the lawmakers that he should be liable. But this rule yields to the more fundamental rule that the principal intention of the legislature must be effectuated if possible. Is not the principal intention here made plain by the preamble and by every provision of the act itself, namely, to secure to the oppressed and insulted colored people the treatment they were entitled to receive? And would Congress have hesitated to secure this treatment for as many as possible, even though they could not secure it for every single one? The opinion, with cold-blooded indifference, ignores the warm pulses of humanity that beat in every word of the Civil Rights Act and give it life and meaning. The iniquity of such a decision is that it tends to destroy faith in justice, faith in common honesty, faith in the judgments of courts, and even faith in God. But let us not lose our faith. Trouble may be in store, indeed; trouble *must* be in store for a nation whose Supreme Court can thus forget the nation's ideals of righteousness, and read one of its noblest enactments by the farthing candle of a technical rule instead of by the love of equal rights and justice—the holy light that flames in every line of the instrument itself. But whatever troubles may come, and perhaps through those very troubles and punishments, justice will triumph in the end.

The decision marks the lowest point yet reached by the receding tide of sentiment in favor of equal civil rights. Let us hope that it may also mark the lowest point that *will* be reached. The work before us is not to find fault with the court so much as to create, if possible, a public sentiment in favor of equality as true and wholesome as that which was embodied in the law that has been swept away. When that has been done the law will be safe in the hands of any court. Until that is done, even a righteous decision of the court cannot much avail to stem the tide of hostile sentiment.

SOME MORE BOOKS

"Facts of Reconstruction." By John R. Lynch. 325 pages. Neale Publishing Co., New York, 1913.

FOREMOST in importance this month comes the long-awaited reminiscences of John R. Lynch.

Major Lynch was one of the half dozen prominent colored men in the history of reconstruction, and perhaps more than any living man knows the truth from the Negro's point of view. His purpose in writing "The Facts of Reconstruction" are stated clearly in the preface:

"Was the enfranchisement of the black men at the South by act of Congress a grave mistake?

"Were the reconstructed State governments that were organized as a result thereof a disappointment and a failure?

"Was the Fifteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution premature and unwise?

"An affirmative answer to the above questions will be found in nearly everything that has been written about reconstruction during the last quarter of a century. The main purpose of this work is to present the other side."

The answers fill the book and are most interesting. In 1872 he tells us: "No one could be found in any party or either race who was bold enough to express the opinion that the Congressional plan of reconstruction was a mistake, or that Negro suffrage was a failure. To the contrary, it was admitted by all that the wisdom of both had been fully tested and clearly vindicated. The adoption of any other plan would have resulted in the accomplishment of nothing but the mere physical abolition of slavery and the denial of the right of a State to withdraw from the Union. These would have been mere abstract propositions, with no authority vested in the national government for their enforcement. The war for

the Union would have been practically a failure. The South would have gained and secured substantially everything for which it contended except the establishment of an independent government. The black man, therefore, was the saviour of his country, not only on the field of battle, but after the smoke of battle had cleared away."

He shows that Negro suffrage had slowly but surely built up a good State government in Mississippi. The last "carpet-bag" governor "had given the State an excellent administration. The State judiciary had been kept up to the high standard established by Governor Alcorn. Every dollar of the public money had been collected and honestly accounted for. The State was in a prosperous condition. The rate of taxation had been greatly reduced, and there was every prospect of a still further reduction before the end of his administration. But these facts made no difference to those who were flushed with the victory they had so easily won."

And, finally, when the reconstruction government was overthrown and the reform administration came, we are reminded that its treasurer promptly stole $315,612.19!

"Gouldtown." By William Steward and T. G. Steward. 237 pages. Lippincott, Philadelphia, 1913.

Persons interested in fairy tales should read a true one as set down gravely, sedately and completely in the story of "Gouldtown."

It seems that one of Oliver Cromwell's majors bought parts of New Jersey from Berkeley and Carteret and settled there; but to his mind all did not go well with him, for this is what he says in his will:

"Item, I do accept against Elizabeth Adams of having any ye leaste part of my estate, unless the Lord open here eyes to see her abominable transgression against him, me and her good father, by giving her true repentance, and forsaking yt Black yt hath been the ruin of her, and becoming penitent for her sins; upon yt condition I do will and require my executors to settle five hundred acres of land upon her."

It seems that this granddaughter clung to her black husband. Other mulattoes in various ways joined the settlement and today this remarkable community still exists. As the book says:

"Several of the earlier Goulds and Pierces, as well as Murrays, intermarried with whites, and members of their immediate offspring went away and lost their identity, they and their descendants becoming white; while from those who still maintained their identity as people of color there have come many who have reached distinction, and in whom their native county shows merited pride."

"Masterpieces of Negro Eloquence." Edited by Alice Moore Dunbar. 512 pages. The Bookery Publishing Co.

The widow of Paul Laurence Dunbar has edited a valuable volume of orations of colored men.

There are fifty-one speeches given and nearly all of the Negro leaders from Douglass to the Grimkés, are represented. Some orations are rather essays than speeches, but this, if anything, enhances the value of the book, which becomes in this way a commentary of the Negro on his own problems covering one hundred years.

The work was hurried for publication during the jubilee year and shows some proofs of the hurry. There are several bad slips in proofreading, and it would have been well to have put little biographical sketches like the one placed before Douglass' speeches before all the others.

Nevertheless the total result is worth while, and the message of the whole book is perhaps summed up in its last paragraph:

"Strange, is it not, my brothers, how often in America those great watchwords of human energy—'Be strong!' 'Know thyself!' 'Hitch your wagon to a star!'—how often these die away into dim whispers when we face these seething millions of black men? And yet do they not belong to them? Are they not their heritage as well as yours? Can they bear burdens without strength, know without learning and aspire without ideals? Are you afraid to let them try? Fear rather in this, our common fatherland, lest we live to lose those great watchwords of liberty and opportunity which yonder in the eternal hills their fathers fought with your fathers to preserve."

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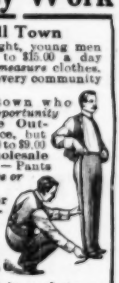

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